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The Nation. April 14, 1979 $1

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IAL

E HOT ER VALLEY NDROME

It has been the innocent American assumption ever since we uncorked the nuclear bottle that we could control that monstrous genie with one hand tied behind our backs. That meant, characteristically, leaving our safety in the hands of an energy industry that had proved its carelessness with human life in its black record in the coal fields. The controls on this dangerous business rested with Government bureaucracies in thrall to the industry and with a wretched safety record of their own, as evidenced by the weapons-testing miscalculations on the Bikini atoll and the Nevada Flats.

Now all these irradiated birds have come home to roost at Three Mile Island. Their spectral presence there will be no surprise to those who read *The Nation* of August 3, 1974—the full issue we devoted to the dangers of the nuclear energy "system" in this country. McKinley Olson wrote about it all in "The Hot River Valley" and he brings the issue up to date on page 387.

What is most distressing about this "abnormal evolution" (instead of "accident"), as some spokesmen call it, is the defensive posture the Federal authorities have taken toward it. In the interests of averting "panic" and of de-emphasizing our shocking dependence on Arab oil, the policy has been not to tell us the whole truth about this "transient event." Energy czar James Schlesinger, naturally, mutters about "human failure" instead of the corporate-technical-regulatory kind.

That is not nearly good enough. We must force the whole truth about this near-disaster out of Washington and we must mobilize so that it cannot happen again.

FLEET STREET
Roger M. Williams

INDIANS' LAST STAND
Bruce Johansen

TWO CHEERS FOR THE STATE
Philip Green

MULDERGATE ON MADISON AVENUE
Peter H. Stone
Karen Rothmyer

I.F. STONE'S PALESTINE
Fawaz Turki

ALBERT CAMUS
Harold Clurman

THE SMART MISSILE

THE CRUISE—SALT-FREE AND DEADLY

As the SALT II debate begins to quicken, the role of the cruise missile in the United States' array of weapons looms larger. The capabilities of these weapons have been infrequently described, leaving the public to assume they are simply a new wrinkle in ballistic technology. As Robert C. Aldridge points out, however, they are complex, versatile weapons with a potent first-strike capability, and the Carter Administration's efforts to exempt them from a strategic arms limitation treaty can be seen as a screen behind which their development can continue unchecked. —The Editors

ROBERT C. ALDRIDGE

When President Carter blasted the B-1 bomber out of tomorrow's skies, he bestowed White House blessings on a more lethal family of weapons. They are cruise missiles, which cross the borders between conventional and nuclear, strategic and tactical. Anti-ship tactical versions with conventional warheads look identical from the outside to the nuclear land-attack weapons. Some land-attack versions are for theater targets while others are for strategic use. Soviet negotiators at the SALT parleys have good reason to be wary of this new weapon because all of its nuances are still not revealed. Soviet cruise missiles with maximum ranges of 300 miles are almost primitive by comparison.

The best way to describe a cruise missile is to say that it is like a small jet airplane which is flown by sensors and an automatic pilot, instead of a human being. It can

(Continued on Page 401)

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LETTERS.

AD REBUTTAL

Brooklyn, N.Y.

I don't have the financial resources to take out a dramatic full-page advertisement to counter the pro-nuclear energy ad taken out by the Edison Electric Institute (E.E.I.) [*The Nation*, Mar. 24] so, if you will allow me, I'll settle for a letter.

It seems to me that E.E.I. has made a few misleading statements. First of all, that nuclear energy provides more electric energy than hydroelectric dams is not a result of nuclear reactors being more energy-efficient or economical. In fact, just the opposite is true. Nuclear reactors have surpassed hydroelectric generation because of a conscious effort on the part of the private investor-owned electric utilities (I.O.U.s) to avoid development and utilization of hydroelectric generation. Since the profit returned to I.O.U.s is a direct percentage of the capital invested by the company (this makes up what is known as the rate base) hydroelectric generation has been avoided because it simply costs less and will result in lower profits. For example, in 1958 Con Edison had the opportunity to purchase 1.5 million kilowatts/hour of cheap hydro-power from Niagara Falls but turned it down. Similarly, in 1964 Con Edison was offered the opportunity to purchase cheap hydro-power from a power project in Canada known as Churchill Falls and again turned it down. Instead, Con Edison invested in the construction of a billion-dollar nuclear facility; clearly a less economical use of capital. The only logic to this move on the part of Con Ed is the fact that the nuclear facility, by raising the amount of capital in the rate base, allowed Con Ed a higher rate of return from the Public Service Commission.

Furthermore, the idea that nuclear generation has grown because of its "safety . . . and economy" is ludicrous. An average nuclear power plant, usually about 1 billion watts, annually produces several hundred pounds of plutonium (Pu). Pu is a nuclear weapons grade material. It is extremely toxic: a particle of Pu the size of a grain of pollen, if inhaled, will cause lung cancer. The half-life of Pu's radioactivity and toxicity is 24,390 years. Contrary to what E.E.I. states in its ad, *there are no solutions to the problem of Pu's permanent containment: the only options put forth so far are for interim management.* Also, the degree of constant scrutiny which containment of nuclear weapons grade materials need cannot be achieved through utilities operation. Rather, what will be needed is some type of quasi-military apparatus, not the most idyllic scenario for the future of our society. (According to an article in *The New York Times* on Dec. 29, 1974: "There already were two known instances where Government employees were discovered to have smuggled out of guarded facilities enough special nuclear materials to fashion a nuclear weapon.") Going nuclear will mean absolute control and vigilance of many sectors of our society. Denis Hayes, in his book, *Rays of Hope*, states that there have been ninety-nine separate incidents of threatened or attempted violence against nuclear facilities reported in the United States between 1969 and 1976.

Concerning the economics of nuclear power plants, the picture is not as rosy as E.E.I. would like us to believe. A United States Department of Labor survey conducted in July 1975 showed that a total of 197,500 persons worked in the field and that about one-half of the jobs were in scientific, engineering and other technical areas. This survey points out that within the nuclear energy field there is a high demand—about 50 percent of the positions—for specialized, more educated workers. This has made recruiting more difficult within the industry. In fact, 14 percent of the establishments surveyed reported difficulty in finding properly trained personnel. The question must be asked: does our society feel it can afford to expend needed trained personnel on the development of something whose benefit to our society is at best questionable?

Also, nuclear power plants cost more to build than any other type of power plant. It now costs about $1 billion and takes about ten years to construct one. At a time when the capital needed to support energy production amounts to about one-quarter of all the capital invested in United States business as a whole, we should question this type of capital outlay very carefully. Energy production should be a means, not an end in itself. Capital costs for nuclear power plants have risen at an annual rate of more than twice the increase of coal-fired power plants.

The ad by E.E.I. also stated that nuclear power plants were "reliable." Yet a study by Charles Komanoff for the Council on Economic Priorities states that, in part because of poor plant reliability which has caused its nuclear power plants to be shut down, Con Edison's nuclear power plants cost $26 million more to own and operate than coal-fired plants.

As oil and water do not mix, so electricity production and jobs do not mix. In fact, electricity production is about as low a supplier of jobs as any industry could be. This is particularly tragic in light of the capital intensity of the industry: energy production overall is more capital-intensive than all other industrial sectors. Within this sector it is the production of electricity that is the dominant capital consumer. This is to say that electricity production is the most capital-intensive of all the industrial sectors in our economy. Comparing the manpower requirements of a 1,000-megawatt nuclear and coal power plant over the lifetime of the facility (lifetime equals operation and maintenance over a thirty-year period), one finds that the job requirements for the coal plant are far greater than the job requirements for the nuclear facility. Thus, within the most capital-intensive sector of our economy, nuclear power plants produce the fewest jobs per dollar.

The Edison Electric Institute is misleading the public when it states that "Nuclear energy has grown because of its safety, reliability and economy," and it is up to people who study the economic, social and environmental implications in energy production to point out when the public is being misled. Then it's up to the people.

Allen Hershkowitz
Ph.D. Program in Political Science
CUNY Graduate School

PANEL PROPOSAL

Potsdam, N.Y.

I am organizing a panel on "Militarism and Development in the Third World" for the September meeting of the American Political Science Association in Washington, D.C. This panel is jointly sponsored by the Caucus for a New Political Science and the Committee on Comparative Socialist Studies, and will be cross-listed on the program.

Proposals for papers from readers of *The Nation* would be most welcome. I can be contacted at the Department of Political Science, State University College, Potsdam, N.Y. 13676.

Miles D. Wolpin
Associate Professor

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EDITORIALS.

The Unacceptable Risk

Two related points deserve to be made in the radioactive aftermath of the nuclear power plant accident on Three Mile Island in the Susquehanna River near Harrisburg, which, for some perverse reason, the media seem loath to identify as the capital of Pennsylvania.

One is the fact that since the mid-1950s, it has been clear to many unbiased, independent and knowledgeable people in this country, among them Nobel Laureates Linus Pauling and Hannes Alfvén, and Dr. John Gofman, physician and nuclear scientist, that it was folly to pursue, or rely upon, nuclear fission power to produce electricity for widespread consumption. The second is that the energy problems we face today can in large measure be blamed upon our multibillion-dollar pursuit and development of nuclear power.

In the first instance, we quickly learned that we were dealing with a bewildering array of radiological problems which ran through the entire length and breadth of the nuclear fuel cycle, from the mining of uranium ore to the containment and disposal of nuclear wastes to the decontamination of nuclear power plants and other related radioactive facilities.

Next, it should have been clear that one self-serving segment of our society was pushing the rest of us into the arms of a technology that could not tolerate, nor contain, a major accident. And major accidents, in this world of human error, faulty products, war, revolution, terrorism, earthquake and flood, are bound to happen, especially when we continue to increase the probability that a major nuclear accident will occur by increasing the number of nuclear power plants in our society and, with them, the consequent increase in radioactive shipments, storage facilities and the like.

Because the consequences of a major nuclear power accident would be so devastating and disruptive, in every sense, the champions of nuclear power and their sycophants have attempted to deal with their dilemma by maintaining that the inevitable will never happen. As I write this, it still hasn't, but the accident at Three Mile Island, the astounding fire in 1975 that crippled the emergency safety systems at the Browns Ferry nuclear plant in Alabama and the partial meltdown of the nuclear fuel core in 1966 at the Enrico Fermi plant near Detroit, among others, should

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be indication enough to anyone with common sense, and some shred of independence from the economic establishment, that we have been flirting with nuclear catastrophe.

Instead of pursuing all the logical options that have been available to us for years, among them conservation, energy efficiency, solar power, wind power, geothermal power, oceanic heat, the use of coal, the tides, grain and wood alcohol, wood itself, garbage, lumber and agricultural wastes, algae and the process of photosynthesis, most of which we have largely ignored in spite of the fact that their development would have been a boon to the economy in terms of new jobs and industrial growth, we have allowed our Federal Government—including the Congress and the courts, and a consortium of powerful public utilities and giant private corporations, to squander precious years and billions of dollars in the pursuit of a technology that, at best, will lay a 100,000-year curse in the form of plutonium waste upon this earth.

Also, it means that those places, such as Chicago, that are now harnessed to nuclear power, have been tied to an economic albatross, for we can be fairly sure that a major nuclear power plant accident anywhere in this country will result in damages so ghastly as to arouse a clamor for the shutdown of nuclear plants everywhere, which, in turn, if we continue to rely upon nuclear power, would relegate a number of our regions and cities to the potential status of economic disaster areas.

There is a last lesson here: The nuclear power controversy, like the controversy over the war in Vietnam, teaches us that the Federal Government and our Federal employees must be constantly watched, and prodded, to insure that they serve the public interest rather than the interests of power, greed, ignorance and privilege.

Once again, authorities are attempting to minimize the dangers and awesome implications of their actions. As I write this, we are being told that the levels of radiation emanating from the Three Mile Island Nuclear Power Station are not alarming, even though it is an acknowledged fact that radiation, at any level, no matter how low, can cause genetic mutations; and, even though we know that ionizing radiation is cumulative, and concentrated, in those who have been directly exposed to it, and, as it moves up through the human food chain causes cancer, leukemia and other cell-mutated diseases.

We are also being told that the situation at Three Mile Island is stable, whatever that means, and that there is no real danger that we will have to face up to the terrifying implications of a fuel core meltdown. And, if our brush with disaster does not turn out to be totally horrific, we will be asked to swallow their staggering contention that a near miss is as good as a mile.

In this, these defenders of the nuclear faith have been joined by the media and politicians who profess to be deeply troubled and concerned, but who conclude nevertheless that the nuclear fission power option is still a viable and rational answer to at least some of our energy needs.

This is the same chorus that has for the past twenty-five years been trying to lull our fears, and lead us into a catastrophic radioactive corner, even though, if we continue as we have, the shoe will surely fall. Who then, will pick it up? McKINLEY OLSON

McKinley Olson is the author of Unacceptable Risk *(Bantam Books), about the nuclear power controversy. In 1974* The Nation *devoted an issue of the magazine to Mr. Olson's article, "The Hot River Valley," about the nuclear fission power plants on the Susquehanna.*

After SALT II

Overlooked in the growing brouhaha concerning SALT II is the long-awaited comprehensive test ban treaty, which is scheduled to be taken up after the Senate disposes of the arms limitation treaty. The underground test ban treaty would be open to all nations for signature, and its goals are more universal. It would prevent the emergence of new nuclear powers, and discourage current competition for more lethal nuclear devices. SALT II has been underway for six years; the talks on the test ban treaty have lasted two decades, prolonged both by Soviet intransigence and by the resistance of the American right wing. (See Robert Aldridge, "Diana Moon's Deadly Dust," *The Nation*, Feb. 10.)

Nonetheless, the test ban is popular among the American people. In an April 1977 Harris Poll, 75 percent favored it. The United Nations has consistently supported it. Moreover, the nonnuclear states have demanded the treaty as an act of good faith by the United States and the Soviet Union, who pledged in the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to end their own arms race if other nations would refrain from developing nuclear weapons. Without the test ban, probably forty nations could develop nuclear capabilities within twelve years. Such proliferation would virtually mandate the use of nuclear weapons somewhere, sometime.

Opposition within the United States has been led by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and by the directors of the weapons laboratories. They were so successful that, after the assassination of President Kennedy, negotiations were virtually suspended until 1971, when Senators Edmund Muskie and Edward Kennedy succeeded in reviving Senate interest. Paul Warnke, as director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in the Carter Administration, made progress toward conclusion of the treaty, aided by major Soviet concessions including agreement on the installation of automatic seismic stations for verification purposes in both nations, and permission for onsite inspection to detect small explosions.

The opposition, which vociferously demanded onsite inspection of low-yield tests, was not silenced

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when their demand was granted. They simply switched to the argument that small tests are necessary to verify the reliability of the nuclear weapons stockpile—a novel assumption vigorously denied by Dr. Wolfgang Panofsky, director of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, and other experts in this field.

The proponents of continued nuclear testing programs were heartened by Senator Henry Jackson's amendment to the National Security and Military Application of Nuclear Energy Authorization Act of 1979, which requires the Department of Energy to evaluate the condition of our nuclear weapons stockpile and prepare plans for its restoration "to a satisfactory condition." The Authorization Act, which quietly slipped through both Houses last fall, could easily become a pretext for expanding the life of the nuclear weapons facilities, especially the weapons laboratories. It implies the intention to continue nuclear weapons production far into the future—a plan that belies the Government's public advocacy of a comprehensive test ban. The main thrust of the anti-test ban lobby, then, is to keep the weapons laboratories in business.

But these laboratories could readily be converted. A major advantage of the test ban treaty for both the United States and the Soviet Union is that this treaty would not only halt nuclear proliferation and discourage further nuclear weapons research by the superpowers but it would free the laboratories, their personnel and millions of weapons dollars for nonmilitary research—specifically, in the United States, on critical energy problems. In 1978, the combined budgets of the two principal weapons laboratories—Los Alamos in New Mexico and Lawrence Livermore in California—was more than $500 million. All of this money, except the portion needed to maintain weapons stockpiles, could easily be changed over to research into alternative sources of energy such as solar energy, geothermal energy, magnetic fusion, biomedical and environmental research, new uses of fossil fuels and conservation. And they are all projects in which the laboratories are already involved with that percentage of their budgets allowed for other than national security work.

Most of the scientists working in these laboratories would be delighted to be part of the conversion to peaceful-use research in the event of a test ban treaty. Many are active in the University of California Nuclear Weapons Conversion Project, a California-based coalition working for conversion of the weapons labs. Those physicists, chemists, engineers and environmental scientists involved in energy work would need no retraining. Others could apply the basic principles of their disciplines to the new effort. The labs contain an ideal spectrum of the skills needed for energy research and are supplied with superb equipment. The technical potential for switching into socially constructive programs is impressive.

We have a choice: we can continue to produce more nuclear weapons until, eventually, one is used. Or we can take the money now being invested in potential death and use it for the life-giving energy research needed more urgently each day. JO POMERANCE

Jo Pomerance is a member of the boards of the U.N.A./U.S.A., The Fund for Peace, and Americans for Democratic Action. She is United Nations observer for A.D.A. and co-chairman of the Task Force for the Nuclear Test Ban.

Taking the First

"A system of prior restraint," Thomas I. Emerson pointed out in his magisterial book, *The System of Freedom of Expression*, is "in many ways more inhibiting than a system of subsequent punishment." It is "likely to bring under government scrutiny a far wider range of expression; . . . the system allows less opportunity for public appraisal and criticism; the dynamics of the system drive toward excesses."

We have been thinking about these words of Emerson's because of a confluence of events: a decision by a United States Court of Appeals sustaining Government prior restraint over anything Frank Snepp writes about the Central Intelligence Agency; a decision by a United States District Court sustaining Government prior restraint over *The Progressive* and a decision by the Connecticut Civil Liberties Union to honor Thomas Emerson at a dinner it is holding Saturday, April 7, in New Haven.

The Snepp and *Progressive* cases illustrate Emerson's thesis about the dangers of prior restraint because the Government's novel theories would almost certainly have proven inadequate to persuade juries to impose subsequent punishments. In the Snepp case, the Government contended for the first time that the secrecy contract it requires employees of the C.I.A. to sign gives it power to restrain publication of anything they write about the agency even when they reveal no classified information. In *The Progressive* case, the Government contended for the first time that it can designate some information as "classified at birth"—that is, even though it originates in the public domain, its subject matter gives the Government the power to restrain its publication.

We find prior restraint repugnant when it is employed to prevent publication of classified materials. The Nixon Administration, we believe, earned its reputation as an enemy of freedom by its unsuccessful attempt to prevent publication of classified documents in the Pentagon Papers case and by its successful attempt in the Marchetti case. But as bad as those attempts to establish hegemony over information were, what the Carter Administration is doing is worse. Taken together, the theories for prior restraint propounded by the Government in the Snepp and *Progressive* cases give it a latitude to control public discussion of controversial issues that would have

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made Nixon envious.

We expect better from the courts than we have gotten so far. Writing for the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, Judge Winter disposed of Snepp's First Amendment defenses in one sentence: "We see no merit in these arguments." Snepp is now required to submit a novel he is writing about the C.I.A. to the agency for prior censorship.

Judge Warren's decision in *The Progressive* case has the virtue of expressing discomfort in upholding prior restraint. That is all that can be said for it. The judge substituted his editorial views for those of the magazine's editors, telling them that their "position in favor of nuclear nonproliferation would be harmed, not aided, by the publication of this article" and that the magazine "does not really require the objected-to material in order to ventilate its views on Government secrecy and the hydrogen bomb." As to whether the article provides a guide to building hydrogen bombs, the judge concedes the answer is, "Probably not. A number of affidavits make quite clear that a *sine qua non* to thermonuclear capability is a large, sophisticated industrial capability coupled with a coterie of imaginative resourceful scientists and technicians." The only danger, as Judge Warren sees it, is that, "the article could possibly provide sufficient information to allow a medium size nation to move faster in developing a hydrogen weapon." That is a far cry from the standard for prior restraint the Supreme Court established in the Pentagon Papers case—that publication "will surely result in direct, immediate, and irreparable damage to our Nation or its people."

We join those gathering to honor Thomas Emerson for his teaching at Yale Law School that has inspired successive waves of students, among whom the editor of this journal was one, to dedicate themselves to the protection of civil liberties; for his writings that have done so much to shape and clarify our thinking on the First Amendment; for his courageous commitment to principle in bad times as in good, and for the unassuming manner and good humor that have endeared him to so many. We trust that those present will be invigorated by the occasion to set out anew to win converts to Emerson's views among the judiciary. It is an urgent task.

ARTICLES.

SOUTH AFRICA'S P.R. MAN

Muldergate on Madison Avenue

PETER H. STONE

A small metal plaque on Sydney Baron's desk reads: "There is no limit to what a man can do or where he can go, if he doesn't mind who gets the credit." This is his credo, Baron says. This same epigram might have inspired Conrad's Mr. Kurtz, but it belongs to the president of Sydney S. Baron and Company, Management and Public Relations Consultants, the fourteenth largest P.R. agency in the United States, with more than $3 million a year in billings. Baron's clients are some of America's top corporations, including The Aluminum Company of America, American Can, Reliance Insurance and others with a strong emphasis on international trade. Baron's foreign accounts—the Japanese Electrical Industry, Taiwan and the South African Government—provide a major chunk of his earnings. South Africa alone pays Baron $650,000 yearly, plus generous expenses, for his services. (This is the same Sydney Baron who was skewered as a close confidant of Tammany Hall boss Carmine De Sapio in Fred Cook and Gene Gleason's special issue of *The Nation* entitled "The Shame of New York," October, 31, 1959.)

Peter H. Stone is a New York-based freelance writer.

Baron started working for the South African Department of Information in 1976, when Connie Mulder, the eponymous leading man in the Muldergate scandal, was Minister. He has played a good-sized role in its $73 million worldwide covert crusade to win political and financial support for apartheid. Sydney Baron has been an influence broker in New York since the 1950s, when he worked briefly for Trujillo's Dominican Republic, but the South Africa account has earned him a new notoriety because of its emphasis on persuading American corporations to invest there, despite political repression and economic instability. "Every client can't be Disneyworld," says Baron. "Clients have problems, and problems are challenges. Some sage once remarked that there's no such thing as a problem, everything is an opportunity. South Africa is a very challenging one." Baron himself is a man in his early 60s, heavy around the jowls, but otherwise undistinguished except for the copious monogrammed "Syd's" on his clothes and adorning his office.

Briefly, Baron was a key American player in the South African global game plan. But, as Connie Mulder said, "rules don't apply." To win hearts and minds for apartheid, the Department of Information, led by Connie Mulder and Deputy Minister Eschel Rhoodie, reportedly instigated dozens of projects in Africa, Europe and the United States, with the probable approval of Prime Minister John Vorster, that ranged from buying newspapers and subsidizing journalists to financing candidates and cozening favors from politicians. In South Africa, the biggest trick was probably the more than $30 million poured into *The Citizen*, a strongly pro-Government Johannesburg-based newspaper designed to compete with the more independent *Rand Daily Mail*. (Mulder at first denied that *The Citizen* was subsi-

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dized by the Government, but after Vorster's retirement, other officials confirmed the tie.) In the United States, Rhoodie has hinted strongly at the existence of a number of secret projects that include a $250,000 campaign contribution to Roger Jepsen, a conservative Republican from Iowa who last year defeated Senator Dick Clark, chairman of the African Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and a leading critic of South Africa. Rhoodie also boasts that he helped to defeat California Senator John Tunney, another outspoken critic of apartheid, and that he made large contributions to labor leaders to disrupt a shipping boycott of South Africa led by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Baron's duties as South Africa's Madison Avenue connection have their share of nickel-and-dime operations and busywork. He has made some small campaign contributions of $700 to New York Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, $500 to Indiana Senator Birch Bayh and $240 to New York Mayor Ed Koch that really don't buy much influence. His daily activities also involve humdrum press releases about visits of South African officials and celebrities to the United States such as any P.R. man routinely issues to keep his clients' names in the news. But Baron specializes in the financial end of P.R. for South Africa and so there are a wider range of things that he does, including feeding "facts" about South Africa's economic and political prosperity to financial writers and editors that paint a rosy investment picture.

Baron says that he got involved with South Africa at the suggestion of certain personages in Israel, but refuses to elaborate beyond noting significantly that South Africa is Israel's only friend in Africa, with the implication that anything he could do would help Israel. Spiritual bonds might have drawn Baron to South Africa, but more material concerns occupy his time. Or as he puts it, "Essentially our role is to encourage commercial dialogue." Toward this end, Baron has organized two large summit conferences, officially sponsored by the South Africa Foreign Trade Organization (S.A.F.T.O.), a Government-subsidized body that brought together about 300 American corporation executives to hear Gerald Ford and former Treasury Secretary William Simon argue for American business investment in South Africa. Simon, who addressed the first conference in Rye, N.Y., in 1977, was paid $10,000 by Baron, who says that he was later reimbursed by S.A.F.T.O., for his soothing reassurances about the country's mineral wealth and stability. Simon emphasized the United States' critical need for chrome, manganese and vanadium, which South Africa has in abundance, and pointed out that the United States has access to these treasures "under most favorable conditions." (Baron later arranged to have Simon's remarks reprinted as a special advertising supplement in *Business Week*.) High-level South African officials, including Information Minister Connie Mulder, were there to meet with their American counterparts and to describe the tax incentives and other benefits that South Africa was offering to entice American companies.

Ford, who was the featured speaker at Baron's next meeting in Houston in 1978, spoke extemporaneously, according to Baron, and was paid $10,000 directly by S.A.F.T.O. Another speaker at Houston, however, was John McGoff, the owner of the Panax newspaper chain in Michigan who has investments in South Africa and who in 1975 attempted to buy *The Washington Star* for $25 million, allegedly in furtherance of the larger worldwide propaganda blitz plotted by the Mulder Information Ministry. (South Africa has admitted contributing $11.5 million for the purchase; McGoff denies this.) Baron met McGoff about two years ago aboard a yacht in Washington, later invited him to the Houston meeting and for the last year has also been working as Panax's public relations agency, handling "financial and corporate P.R." (Andrew Hatcher, a black former vice president with the Baron agency, describes the friendship of McGoff and Baron as close and on a first-name basis.) Interestingly, McGoff's Panax P.R. is handled, in part, by Baron vice president Les De Villiers, who started working for Baron about two years ago after he inexplicably resigned from the South African Department of Information when an audit of Government funds began to reveal some irregular activities and personal abuses.

Baron's involvement with McGoff is significant because of McGoff's operations for South Africa which reportedly achieved some success with the purchase of *The Sacramento Union*, but more importantly because of McGoff's friendship with Gerald Ford. McGoff got to know Ford in the early 1960s when he was Ingham County, Mich., Republican chairman and Ford was just a Congressman from the nearby Fifth District. But when Ford became Vice President, and then President, McGoff proceeded to "milk his old connection as much as he could," according to former Panax newspaper editor Robert Skuggen, who worked for McGoff for five years at *The Marquette Mining Journal*. McGoff was on a first-name basis with Ford, and set up several memorable meetings in 1976 for his editors, including a private dinner with Ford two weeks before the election, that seemed a bit excessive considering the timing, and the fact that this was just a small group of local newspaper editors from Michigan. More significantly, McGoff interceded with the White House when South African defense officials wanted a Pentagon meeting.

Another interesting incident occurred after Ford left the White House. McGoff fired Panax editor David Rood and Skuggen was asked to resign for failing to print two stories charging that Carter was condoning promiscuity in the White House and that he was grooming Rosalynn for the Vice Presidency in 1980. This, of course, created "bad press" for the Panax papers. McGoff decided to buy some good will so he donated $300,000 to Northern Michigan Univer-

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sity for the establishment of the John P. McGoff Distinguished Lecture Series, for which he is one of three people to choose the speakers. The first lecturer last year was Gerald Ford; a university spokesman says that N.M.U. paid a $10,000 fee to the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, where Ford is a Distinguished Fellow.

Not surprisingly, McGoff's Panax chain of fifty papers in Michigan, Illinois, Florida and California devote an inordinate amount of space to covering South Africa in as favorable a light as possible. McGoff's former editors say that they were told to run a lot of laudatory stories about South Africa and felt as though they were "being used as a P.R. tool by McGoff." Panax editors have made a number of trips to South Africa as guests of the Government, as has Panax's Washington bureau chief, Tom Ochiltree, who provided highly favorable coverage of the opening of the Transkei, the Government-sponsored black "homelands" policy. Indeed, McGoff has reportedly said that he hoped to use *The Washington Star*, in part, to increase favorable reporting on South Africa in the United States. This has certainly been his mission with the Panax papers. Former Panax editor David Rood says, "he felt that the news columns should be used to advance his political persuasions, not for news." And McGoff also arranged for Connie Mulder to be the keynote speaker at a meeting of Panax general managers in 1975, where he was introduced by McGoff as his good friend and South Africa's next Prime Minister. McGoff neglected to mention that he, Mulder and De Villiers shared ownership of a large farm in the Transvaal.

Obviously, what is known about the relationships between Baron, McGoff and Ford raises more questions than it answers and calls for further investigation. But in light of what we have learned so far about the no-holds-barred approach of the South African propaganda war, some speculation seems justified. *The Sunday Express*, which has led the way in exposing the scandal so far, published a front-page story on March 25 alleging that the Ford campaign received $3.9 million from South Africa in 1976, but providing no sources for its story. (*The Express* theorized that the money might have been channeled through a network of "400 Republican businessmen" who made $10,000 contributions each and were later reimbursed "through a front company" in the United States.) Could McGoff or Baron have been involved?

There are a number of other puzzling questions on a smaller scale that also need answering. How and why did Israel ask Baron to go to work for South Africa? What exactly does Baron do for Panax and McGoff? Is there a connection between Baron's work for South Africa and Panax? How did Les De Villiers come to work for Baron after he left the Department of Information, and what is he doing now for Baron? Is there any link between S.A.F.T.O., the Government-subsidized trade group, and the South African Department of Information? Did the payments to Simon and Ford really come from S.A.F.T.O.? Have other American politicians received payments for similar speeches? Was McGoff's $300,000 N.M.U. contribution his own?

Another area of inquiry that should be opened is whether corporations in the United States have been given special incentives, kickbacks or bribes to invest in South Africa. Given the criticism and pressures directed at American businesses with South African holdings and the South African attempts to buy political power, it does not seem farfetched that extraordinary efforts might have been made to keep American industry happy in South Africa. After all, United States dollars are just as vital as United States good will to the continued survival of apartheid. (For example, a report just released by the United Nations Anti-Apartheid Committee indicates that 387 banks in the United States and four other Western countries made loans of $5.5 billion to South Africa since 1972. Citibank led the way with thirty-three loans totaling $1.27 billion.) Meanwhile, Sydney Baron says that he is busy preparing a third "economic seminar," plus some smaller ones. "How," he asks, "could any good professional resist such a challenging problem?" □

Apartheid Trib

KAREN ROTHMYER

The short-lived New York newspaper *The Trib*, which ceased operations a year ago, was offered secret South African financial backing, according to former publisher Leonard Saffir.

Saffir, whose account is confirmed in its general outline by knowledgeable sources, says that John McGoff, the Michigan newspaper owner who has been linked with several covert operations of the South African Department of Information, was described to him as the conduit for the potential investment.

McGoff, in addition to serving as president of the Panax newspaper chain, also owns a number of other papers through separate companies whose financing has been shrouded in mystery. Reports in the South African press have suggested that much of this financing came from a secret fund maintained by the Information Department. Until now, however, there has been no direct American link between McGoff and such operations.

McGoff, who previously has denied all connections with any of the secret South African ventures, did not return several telephone calls. He was said to be out of the country but to have been told of the nature of the queries. Several other Panax officials likewise did

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not return repeated calls.

Saffir, a former aide to Conservative Senator James Buckley of New York, who was defeated in a 1976 re-election bid, says that, in the end, nothing came of the discussions with McGoff and his associates. He speculates that this was partly owing to his unwillingness to give up control of the paper, which McGoff indicated would be a condition of investment. Also, he says, he feared the consequences of even an indirect South African investment.

"It's not that I'm anti-South Africa," Saffir says. "But you can't hide that sort of thing forever. If it had ever come out, it would have ruined the paper."

According to Saffir, encouragement to discuss *The Trib* with McGoff came from two separate sources.

In the first instance, his diary shows, he met with McGoff and two other Panax officials on November 15, 1977, at the suggestion of Richard Mellon Scaife. Scaife, a member of the Mellon family, previously had expressed an interest in becoming a *Trib* investor.

"At that time the only thing I knew about McGoff was that he published papers," Saffir says. "I had heard about his attempts to buy *The Washington Star*. Dick Scaife mentioned his name to me and said I ought to talk to him. I didn't know at that time just how close he was to McGoff."

Scaife subsequently took a 50 percent interest in a chain of California newspapers including *The Sacramento Union* which McGoff had acquired in 1974.

More recently, Scaife, who lives in Pennsylvania, contributed $1,000 to the successful 1978 effort by Roger Jepsen of Iowa to unseat liberal Senator Dick Clark, who is said to have been the target of a secret South African campaign.

Scaife did not return calls to his office.

In the second instance of an approach involving McGoff, Saffir says that sometime not long after his meeting with McGoff in November, he received the first of several calls from Gerald Zoffer, who described himself as a writer and an investment banker.

Saffir's records show that he met with Zoffer twice, on December 13 and 15. Saffir recalls that Zoffer asked him how much money the paper needed and then said "that it was no problem, that he would get it from a foreign government."

Saffir says, "I said that I would have to know who it was. He then came back and said it was South Africa. I told him it would be the end of the paper if it was ever found out. He said, 'We have a way, John McGoff. He will make the actual investment.' "

Zoffer calls such statements "total nonsense." He says that an American business acquaintance told him Saffir was looking for money and he thought he might be able to bring Saffir and McGoff together.

"I try to arrange financing for many operations," Zoffer says. "I may have said I happened to know that McGoff was a friend of South Africa, but that's all."

Sometime either after Saffir's meeting with McGoff or after his discussions with Zoffer—*Trib* officials' records fail to reveal the date—Lester Wolser, *The Trib*'s chief financial officer, flew to Detroit to meet with three Panax officials to discuss *The Trib*'s projected budget. Wolser says he was told at that meeting that there would be "no problem" in meeting a need for $5 million to $10 million.

Donald Layman, the Panax controller, says that he was at the meeting with Wolser but only as "a guest." He says he did not know whether McGoff was thinking of buying *The Trib* through Panax—which had earnings of only $644,000 in 1977 on revenue of $32.3 million—or through a separate company.

Asked how someone in his position could know so little about such a potentially important acquisition, Mr. Layman said, "I guess there's a lot of things a person might not know about."

Days later, Wolser recalls, he was told McGoff was not interested.

Official South African sources deny any knowledge of the affair. When pressed, John Adler, a deputy of South African Consul General Vernon Stock, says, "I am not denying it ever happened. I am saying that I had absolutely nothing to do with it." □

NUCLEAR MARTYRS

Uranium Rush in Black Hills, S. D.

BRUCE JOHANSEN

When in 1871 Congress put an end to treaty making with American Indians, the 371 treaties already signed left the first Americans with what appeared to be some of the least productive land that a rich continent had to offer. It was a time before sophisticated irrigation, and before dry-land farming techniques had been developed. Industrialization was only beginning to transform the cities of the Eastern seaboard and the demand for oil, gas and even coal was trivial by present-day standards. And, in 1871, Madame Curie had not yet isolated radium.

In a century, the circumstances of industrialization and technical change have made many of these treaty-guaranteed lands very valuable, not least because under their often barren surface lies a significant share of the country's remaining fossil fuel and its uranium resources.

The Indians' greatest mineral wealth is probably in uranium. According to a Federal Trade Commission

Bruce Johansen is the author with Roberto Maestas of Wasi'chu: The Continuing Indian Wars, *to be published by the Monthly Review Press in early June.*

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report of October 1975, an estimated 16 percent of the United States' uranium reserves that are recoverable at present market prices are on reservation lands; this is about two-thirds of the uranium on land under the legal jurisdiction of the United States Government. There are almost 400 uranium leases on these lands, according to the F.T.C., and in recent years between 1 million and 2 million tons of uranium ore a year, about 20 percent of the national total, have been mined on reservation land.

Moreover, if to the uranium reserves on reservation land are added those estimated on land guaranteed to Indian nations by treaty, the Indians' share of uranium reserves within the United States rises to nearly 50 percent; the Council of Energy Resource Tribes places the figure at 75 percent to 80 percent. About two-thirds of the 150 million acres guaranteed to Indians by treaty has been alienated from them—by allotment, other means of sale, or by seizure without compensation. Some of these areas, notably the Black Hills of South Dakota, are now undergoing a uranium mining boom, though legal title to the land is still clouded.

Assertion of treaty claims to the Black Hills, as well as to other uranium-rich treaty lands, has begun to forge strong links in the West among groups supporting treaty rights and those opposing nuclear power and weapons development. Black Hills Indian activists have asked numerous anti-nuclear groups to help them "stop the poison at the source."

The conflict over the Black Hills goes back more than a century. Black Elk, a Lakota (Sioux) medicine man, was 11 years old during the summer of 1874 when, by his account (published in *Black Elk Speaks* by John Neihardt), an expedition under Gen. George Armstrong Custer invaded the *Paha Sapa* ("Hills that are Black"), the holy land of the Lakota, the name from which "Dakota" is derived. The Black Hills had been guaranteed to the Lakota "in perpetuity" by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. Custer's expedition was on a geological mission; it was looking for gold. Custer found it, and in his wake several thousand gold seekers, ignoring the treaty, poured into the sacred Black Hills.

In the words of Black Elk, the Lakota and Cheyennes "painted their faces black"—went to war—to regain the Black Hills. The result was Custer's Last Stand, one of the best-remembered debacles in United States military history. The Hills never were ceded by treaty; as recently as July 1978, the tribal council of the Pine Ridge Sioux (the Government's name for the Oglala Lakota) rejected a $17.5 million Claims Commission offer for their land. As a result of that vote (and many before it) Mount Rushmore, among other tourist attractions, still stands on Lakota land.

In January 1977, another geological survey team emerged from the Hills—this time to announce the presence of uranium-bearing Precambrian rock formations near Nemo, southwest of Rapid City. The news ignited another rush for claims, which again ignored the question of title. Between February 15 and April 15, 1977, more than 1,200 location certificates were filed in the area, many of them by large companies such as Johns-Manville, American Copper & Nickel, and Homestake Mining. Homestake had grown rich on the Custer strike—the profits from which later helped buy William Randolph Hearst a newspaper empire.

Other large companies had joined the uranium rush elsewhere in the Black Hills. The Tennessee Valley Authority, looking for fuel for the seventeen nuclear power plants for which it has licenses, acquired leases on 65,000 Black Hills acres and on 35,000 more acres just west of the Wyoming border. Since 1974, when the T.V.A. acquired these properties (including a processing mill), 6,000 test holes have been drilled and 5 million to 6 million tons of uranium identified—or about $500 million worth at the mine mouth. The Authority told local officials that it planned to begin mining and milling in the area by 1981. T.V.A. officials said that two mining methods were being considered: stripping and underground solution, whereby liquid-borne chemicals are injected into the ground to dissolve the uranium ore before it is drawn to the surface. Because the Black Hills are a watershed for much of western South Dakota, some concern has been expressed that solution mining could pollute the underground water on which ranchers and farmers rely. Despite protests, Union Carbide also announced uranium mining activities, planned to begin in late 1979 or early 1980. The form and size of these projects have not yet been made public.

The uranium rush in the Black Hills began at the same time that the American Indian Movement (A.I.M.) became the target of an F.B.I. campaign along COINTELPRO lines on and near the Pine Ridge Reservation. The climax of that harassment was the conviction in Fargo, N.D. Federal District Court of Leonard Peltier, an A.I.M. activist, for killing two F.B.I. agents. (See Johansen: "Leonard Peltier and the Posse: Still Fighting the Indian Wars," *The Nation*, October 1, 1977.) Many A.I.M. leaders suggested that mineral resources, and especially uranium, were the reason why so much attention had been paid to A.I.M. during the middle 1970s. Peltier wrote:

> In the late 19th century, land was stolen for economic reasons. . .we were left with what was believed to be worthless land. Still, we managed to live and defy the wish to exterminate us. Today, what was once called worthless land suddenly becomes valuable as the technology of white society advances. . . . [That society] would now like to push us off our reservations because beneath the barren land lie valuable mineral resources.

Though no proof has as yet come to light that the F.B.I.'s excessive attention to A.I.M. just when the uranium claims were being consolidated was part of an overall strategy, it is clear that—forced to defend themselves against largely fabricated criminal

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charges—A.I.M. members had little time to pursue treaty claims to the Black Hills and surrounding lands.

One thousand miles to the south, the Navajo Nation, which had signed a treaty in 1868, has also been facing increased uranium mining. About half the recoverable uranium within the United States lies within New Mexico—and about half of that is beneath the Navajo Nation. As in South Dakota, growing numbers of Navajos have come to oppose the mining, and to join forces with non-Indians who regard nuclear power plants and arms proliferation as a twofold menace. Uranium had been mined on Navajo land since the late 1940s; the Indians dug the ore that started the United States' stockpile of nuclear weapons.

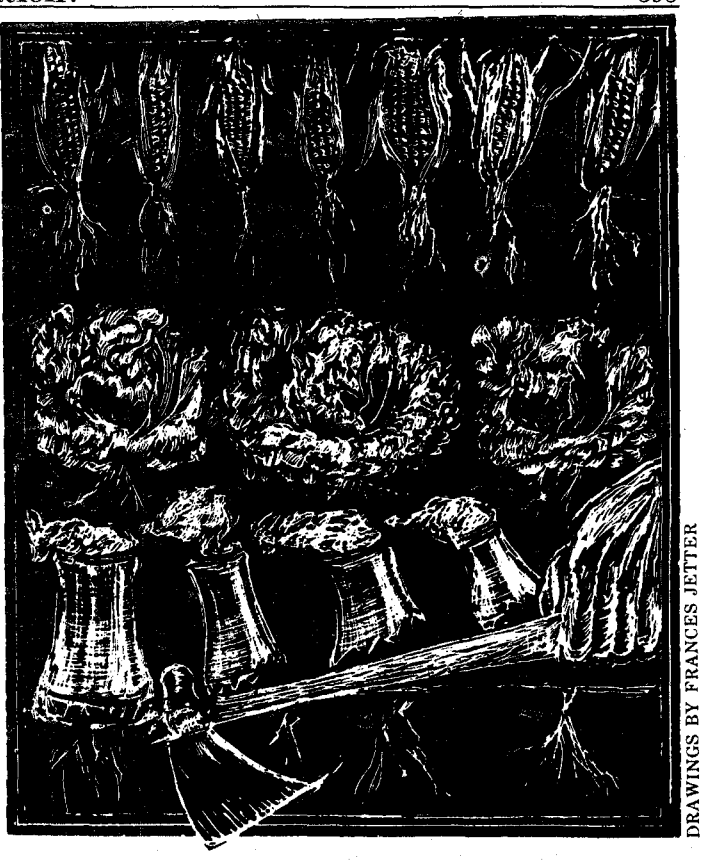
For thirty years after the first atomic explosions in New Mexico, uranium was mined much like any other mineral. More than 99 percent of the product of the mines was waste and left as tailings near mine sites after the uranium had been extracted. One of the mesalike waste piles grew to be a mile long and 70 feet high. On windy days, dust from the tailings blew into local communities, filling the air and settling on the water supplies. The Atomic Energy Commission assured worried local residents that the dust was harmless.

In February 1978, however, the Department of Energy released a Nuclear Waste Management Task Force report that said that people living near the tailings ran twice the risk of lung cancer as the general population. *The Navajo Times* carried reports of a Public Health Service study that asserted one in six uranium miners had died, or would die, prematurely of lung cancer. For some, the news came too late. Esther Keeswood, a member of the Coalition for Navajo Liberation from Shiprock, N.M., a reservation city near tailings piles, said the C.N.L. had documented the deaths of at least fifty residents (including uranium miners) from lung cancer and related diseases.

Kerr-McGee Company, the first corporation to mine uranium on the Navajo Nation lands (beginning in 1948) found the reservation location extremely lucrative—there were no taxes at the time, no health, safety or pollution regulations, and few other jobs for the many Navajos recently home from service in World War II. Labor was cheap.

The first uranium miners in the area, almost all of them Navajos, remember being sent into shallow tunnels within minutes after blasting. They loaded the radioactive ore into wheelbarrows and emerged from the mines spitting black mucus from the dust, and coughing so hard it gave many of them headaches, according to Tom Barry, energy writer for *The Navajo Times*, who interviewed the miners.

Such mining practices exposed the Navajos who worked for Kerr-McGee to between 100 and 1,000 times the limit now considered safe for exposure to radon gas. Officials for the Public Health Service have estimated these levels, but no one was monitoring the Navajo miners' health in the late 1940s.



DRAWINGS BY FRANCES JETTER

It was only thirty years later, when an increasing number of deaths from lung cancer made it evident that Kerr-McGee had held life as cheaply as the workers' labor, that intense scrutiny of the first victims began. Today, as Navajo miners continue to die, children who play in water that has flowed over or through abandoned mines and tailings piles come home with burning sores.

Even if the tailings were to be buried—a staggering task—radioactive pollution could leak into the surrounding water table. A 1975 Environmental Protection Agency report found radioactive contamination of drinking water on a Navajo reservation in the Grants, N.M., area, near uranium mining and milling facilities. Doris Bunting of Citizens Against Nuclear Threats, a predominately white group that has joined with C.N.L. and the National Indian Youth Council to oppose uranium mining, has supplied data indicating that radium-bearing sediments have spread into the Colorado River basin, from which water is drawn for much of the Southwest. Through the opposition to uranium mining in the area, among Indians and non-Indians alike, runs a deep concern for the long-term poisoning of land, air and water by low-level radiation. It has produced a demand from Indian and white groups for a moratorium on all uranium mining, exploration and milling until the issues of untreated radioactive tailings and other waste-disposal problems are faced and solved.

The threat of death which haunted the Navajos came at what company public relations specialists might have deemed an inappropriate time; the same rush for uranium that had filled the Black Hills with

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prospectors was coming to the Southwest, as arms stockpiling and the anticipated needs of nuclear plants drove up the demand, and the price, for the mineral. By late 1978, more than 700,000 acres of Indian land were under lease for uranium exploration and development in an area centering on Shiprock and Crownpoint, both in the Navajo Nation. Atlantic Richfield, Continental Oil, Exxon, Humble Oil, Homestake, Kerr-McGee, Mobil Oil, Pioneer Nuclear and United Nuclear were among the companies exploring, planning to mine, or already extracting ore.

The United States Geological Survey predicted that the water table at Crownpoint would drop 1,000 feet as a result of uranium mining, and that it would return to present levels thirty to fifty years after the mining ceased. Much of what water remained could be polluted by uranium residues, the report indicated. Local residents rose in anger, and found themselves neatly ambushed by the white man's law. The Indians owned the surface rights; the mineral rights in the area are owned by private companies such as the Santa Fe Railroad.

"If the water supply is depleted, then this [Crownpoint] will become a ghost town," said Joe Gmusea, a Navajo attorney. "The only people left will be the ones who come to work in the mines." John Redhouse, associate director of the Albuquerque-based National Indian Youth Council, said that the uranium boom is "an issue of spiritual and physical genocide."

The uranium boom has put the residents of Crownpoint into a position not unlike that faced by their ancestors who were driven up the sides of a mesa not far away, as cavalry troops circled below. The choice offered the Indians then, as now, was to assimilate—accommodate the white man's wishes—or starve.

The growing Indian opposition to uranium mining is an attempt to get off this modern-day mesa—and to do so by reaching out to others who are concerned more with the needs of future generations than with the immediate price tags of the international supermarket. The descendants of settlers and Indians of a century ago have been coming together in a regional alliance against what they see as a new invading force—the energy- and profit-hungry multinational corporations. With the growing energy development in the Rocky Mountains area (uranium included) has spread a recognition that parts of the region—including areas other than Indian reservations—are slated for devastation to provide power to the energy consumers of the East and West coasts, and profits to the companies that stoke that demand for energy.

Again, as a century ago, people who stand to lose their livelihoods to invaders are "painting their faces black." The historic twist is that, while a century ago Custer had Indian scouts, this time the Indians' allies are white.

Winoa La Duke of the International Indian Treaty Council may have been speaking for more people than Indians when, at an anti-nuclear demonstration near Grants, N.M., she said: "Indian people refuse to become the silent martyrs of the nuclear industry. We stand fighting in our homelands for a future free of the threat of genocide for our children." □

Irresponsible Fleet Street

ROGER M. WILLIAMS

London

It is difficult for an American to come to grips with the four-month-long suspension of publication by London's venerable *Times* and *Sunday Times*. In the United States we see fragmentary reports that treat the dispute almost exclusively in terms of wildcat strikes and unprinted editions. That offends our concept of a free press, and it meshes too smoothly with our preconceptions of a Britain being bankrupted by irresponsible trade unions.

Fleet Street's unions have indeed been irresponsible, both in disrupting newspaper production and clinging to outmoded jobs and job practices. But the news from Gray's Inn Road, the actual corporate headquarters of Times Newspapers Ltd., is that the newspaper managements have been irresponsible, too. That is, the men who run Britain's numerous "national" papers have too often been unimaginative, stupid and even cowardly.

At this writing, there is a good chance that both *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* will resume publication on April 17. Thanks to personal mediation by the Government's Employment Secretary, Albert Booth, a seemingly hopeless deadlock was broken and the two sides at last brought to the negotiating table. Even if resumption comes this month, however, it may prove to be only one more corner turned in Fleet Street's labor-relations labyrinth.

Last November 30, Times Newspapers Ltd. carried out a threat to suspend publication unless the national unions—and the fifty-four "chapels" (locals) that represent the company's workers—agreed to several major changes. The critical demands were that the unions cease wildcat disruptions, agree to the introduction of new labor-saving technology (and to job reductions that the technology would make possible), and permit management to reclaim numerous managerial functions that have accrued to the unions over the years.

That may seem a large and bitter dose for any

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union leader to swallow in a single gulp, but the disease it was intended to cure has long been chronic on Fleet Street, ignored and sometimes encouraged by labor and management alike. In the 1950s, with expansion and big profits dancing before their eyes, London's newspaper owners adopted what Percy Roberts, an executive of *The Mirror*, accurately calls "a policy of publish at any price." You can do that, Roberts notes, by paying high wages or hiring lots of people: "Unfortunately, Fleet Street did both."

In the process, it permitted wasteful labor practices, quaintly called "Old Spanish Customs," to take root and thrive. The customs persist today. One is "blow time"—extended breaks for rest and relaxation. Originally intended to relieve the discomforts of foundry work, blow time spread into many areas of production. A second involves phantom wages, money appropriated for bogus and unnecessary names—and split among the people on the actual work force.

Fleet Street bosses were willing to live with all this until the technological revolution reached the newspaper industry, giving promise of greater profitability. In 1976 the Newspaper Proprietors' Association tried to get the unions to agree to terms under which computerized typesetting and other innovations would be introduced. Nothing was achieved. Soon thereafter Fleet Street began to suffer the wildcat disruptions that brought larger problems to a head. Sudden walkouts by pressmen, typesetters, loaders and other unions affected every national newspaper. In absolute numbers, the production losses were staggering. In the six months leading up to March 1978, the aggregate normal press run was reduced by 108 million copies. At Times Newspapers alone, 7.7 million copies were lost in the first three months of 1978—more than in the entire previous year; ten editions of *The Times* failed to appear at all.

Numerous Fleet Street executives attacked the unions publicly, but only Times Newspapers resolved to confront them head-on. Its decision was prompted by two singular conditions—one a matter of need, the other of fortune. The need arose out of the peculiar process of producing *The Sunday Times*. Each week the paper undertakes what is said to be the world's largest press run—some 1.5 million copies. A large share of each edition is put together on Friday and Saturday, rather than pre-printed in the American manner, in order to insure the maximum currency and editorial flexibility. To service the paper's vast distribution network, hundreds of thousands of copies must be assembled with great speed late Saturday night. While these eleventh-hour heroics make *The Sunday Times* what it is journalistically, they also leave it inordinately vulnerable to disruptions of production.

By last April, disruptions had reached a point where Times Newspapers would not tolerate them further. Says Michael Poole, the company's market development manager, who was drafted into the role of press spokesman: "People didn't understand the danger this company was in after two years of fairly continuous, guerrilla-like labor activities. Our readers were becoming extremely grumpy; *The Sunday Times* was being called the 'Sunday Sometimes.' Advertisers were getting upset as well."

The second, very different, incentive for confrontation was the wealth of Times Newspapers' parent company, the Thomson Organization; specifically, its ever-flowing oil pipeline to the North Sea. This year, oil revenues will account for three-quarters of Thomson profits. The profits, in effect, subsidize the two papers, which historically operated at a loss, and made the company strong enough to absorb the huge losses entailed in a long suspension of publication. (Through March, according to management estimates, the suspension has cost the papers more than $30 million in forfeited revenues.)

Critics of Times Newspapers suspect that management took a cue from the successful anti-union moves made by Katharine Graham, owner of *The Washington Post*. Whatever the inspiration, the company acted boldly. It assembled all its grievances against its unions into a single, bombshell ultimatum. Sixteen of the fifty-four chapels, including the normally feisty National Union of Journalists, have subsequently reached agreements with management. The unions most affected by the proposed changes have not.

These were (initials will suffice) the N.G.A. (typesetters and printers), N.A.T.S.O.P.A. (printers' helpers) and S.O.G.A.T. (loaders and distributors). Turning a deaf ear to arguments that technological progress is inevitable and an end to wildcat dis-

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ruptions essential, all three unions took the attitude that they will not bargain away their members' jobs; the N.G.A. refused to negotiate at all so long as dismissal hung over the heads of some of its members. More than principle was involved in the union leaders' obstinacy; they doubted, with good reason, that Times Newspapers or any other Fleet Street management would follow through on a threat to close down operations.

Until Employment Secretary Albert Booth broke the impasse in mid-March, that was where matters stood. Various interested parties took the occasion to float exotic ideas for a solution. Anthony Benn, the Government's Energy Secretary, proposed that the BBC take over both papers, an idea that pleased almost nobody and moved the chairman of the last Royal Commission on the Press to proclaim, "They would hand [the papers] over to a Ministry of Truth and tell us that we had been granted a new freedom." Some journalists began advocating a worker-owned cooperative. And the names of various purely capitalistic buyers were batted about—among them was Rupert Murdoch, the controversial press czar who once told *The New Statesman*'s Bruce Page, "You've got to be very clever to lose money with *The Times* and *Sunday Times*." Times Newspapers, for its part, has declared steadfastly that the papers are not for sale.

Highly diverse unions and jobs are involved in the dispute. The loaders and distributors' union represents unskilled workers, many of them casuals who do the heavy-duty work of sending *The Sunday Times* off to its myriad destinations. When the casuals (known as "cowboys") disrupt the Saturday night process, it is often simply because they are disinterested or drunk, or both. Fleet Street foremen have traditionally used the convenient closing of the pubs to get their cowboys, and have let them sign (to avoid tax liability to both man and company) under such identities as "Mickey Mouse, Sunset Boulevard."

At the other end of the spectrum are the N.G.A.'s typesetters and printers, highly skilled, highly paid craftsmen whom Page calls "a working-class elite—especially at the Times Newspapers. They drive Rover three-liter cars, own nice houses and are rather conservative people, but management insists on treating them like Trotskyists. That doesn't make sense, especially since they're the people whose technical skills [at last-minute revisions] have *made The Sunday Times*."

The N.G.A. nationally suffers very little unemployment, and it has a strike war chest of some $15 million; it can afford to be tough. Its chief objection to management's proposals is that they provide for "single keystroking," a computerized system by which journalists and classified-ad salesmen can "set" copy directly, without the intermediary services of typesetters and printers. Mike Poole insists that no more than 20 percent of all Times Newspapers copy would be set by computerized means, but the N.G.A. fears that 20 percent represents merely the opening wedge.

Among London journalists, the Times Newspapers management is widely disparaged. "Autocratic," "out of touch" and plain "incompetent" are a few of the milder characterizations. It is even said that Marmaduke J. ("Duke") Hussey, the managing director, owes his job to the fact that his wife serves as a lady-in-waiting to the Queen. The company retorts that Hussey has been a top newspaper executive for many years and that, under present management, *The Times* moved from a $6 million loss in 1971 to a small profit in 1977—before the wildcatters went into action.

To an outsider, the company's present demands do not seem unreasonable in principle or brutal in application. The company seeks to eliminate about 1,000 production jobs, a good many of them involving casual workers; the N.G.A. would lose about 10 percent of its *Times* jobs; some of the other unions would lose more than this, others less. Large cash payments will be made to unwanted employees who agree to termination. The fate of the others seems unclear, although the company says nobody will actually be forced to leave. There is some talk about retraining "redundant" N.G.A. members to perform computerized keyboard chores in classified advertising.

In the end, Times Newspapers' action seems principally to be a matter of a flaccid, rather inept management finally taking hold of itself. That is something British industry as a whole badly needs to do. And if Fleet Street can accomplish it, the entire country, unions and management alike, will ultimately benefit. □

NATION ESSAY

Two Cheers for The State

PHILIP GREEN

In a recent article on *The New York Times* Op-Ed page, Arianna Stassinopolous, a proponent of the new individualism, exulted over the prospect that there will soon be massive cutbacks in taxes, and thus equivalent slashes in government expenditures. "Then the expansion that we now see as the gift of the state," Stassinopolous wrote, "will take place as the result of the energies of the people released from the shackles of an all-intrusive government. And the degree of one's caring for the underprivileged and the level of one's generosity will no longer be measured by the vociferousness of one's

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demands for the state to take action but by the extent of one's own action to provide help and remove inequalities . . . this country has an unparalleled opportunity . . . to move away from the moral nonsense of *compulsory* compassion and *nationalized* generosity and make the building of a free society an exciting adventure, a deed of courage and of caring."

So prevalent is this view that "government spending" stifles initiative, and cutbacks in "big government" release it, that it is almost embarrassing to have to argue otherwise. Moreover, if we defend "the state" in any way we seem to be put in the hapless position of defending the capitalist state; and thus of ignoring the trenchant criticisms of the capitalist state that have been made, in various ways, by anarchists, socialists and American populists. How defend an institution that can correctly be characterized as bloated, unresponsive, corrupt, destructive and a tool of corporate class rule? Yet such a defense must be made precisely by those of us who are most opposed to the pro-business, militarized, illiberal policies of the American state apparatus; we must reject in toto the argument that if we withdraw activities from the purview of the state, we will then have that much more resources of our own left over to employ, on a voluntary and creative basis, on behalf of social improvement.

The theory of Stassinopolous and other so-called "libertarians" and "anti-statists" is like a simple hydraulic model: energy (or money) flows freely and necessarily from one level to another. As a general matter, there is more than enough hard evidence available to demonstrate the inapplicability of that model to societies. The British government, for example, takes a much higher level of the disposable income of its citizens in taxes than American governments do, but even a short-term resident in Britain soon notices a (proportionately) much greater range of voluntary and quasi-voluntary social services than is available in the United States. Part of the explanation may have to do with national history and "character," but part actually has to do with the role of government itself. Far from precluding voluntarism, the social-security state stimulates ancillary cooperative activity in such areas as health-care delivery; it does so by taking those activities out of the realm of commerce, in which by and large we learn only how to compete, and removing them to a realm of noncommercialized service, to which we gravitate when we want to do "good works."

The psychological and social structure of capitalism, in other words, militates against voluntary mobilization, and must therefore be overcome to make the latter work on a large scale. But nowhere are those structures more deeply embedded than in the United States.

For example, American capitalism maintains itself by spending billions upon billions of dollars to persuade us that all expenditures from our incomes should be upon ourselves (and our families). Television advertising is only the most obvious case in point: of the last hundred TV commercials any of us saw, it would be miraculous if more than one or two (or any) advocated devoting a significant portion of one's own economic resources to a public purpose. Particular advertisers probably accomplish very little beyond the maintenance of their competitive position, but to think that the barrage of injunctions to spend and consume have no effect is to be mindless. But that is just one example (though hardly a minor one) of the way that lesson is drilled into us almost from birth—in churches, schools, newspapers and (ultimately perhaps of most importance) by those ideologues of the economics profession who teach generations of "educated" people that "rational" economic behavior is self-interested behavior.

This intensive effort of corporate managers and their propagandists to manipulate us into thinking of ourselves only as individual household spending units could not be successful, however, were it not that the institutional structure of our political economy fully supports it. When I ask myself, what would I do with a windfall of $500 to $1,000 per year, the concrete things that leap to my mind—despite the fact that I am sitting here writing so passionately about "the common good"—are the same things that leap to everyone else's mind: raise the thermostat to 65, repaper and paint the living room, get a new kitchen stove at last, help the children go to colleges of their choice for four years. . . .

Inflation and taxation together create a dynamic in which what is pent up is not our desire to spend on others but our desire to spend on ourselves. Release the inhibitions and that pent-up desire will explode, thus accomplishing little but to fuel further inflation. Nor is there any reason to expect corporate managers to behave differently if the already minor burden of corporate and capital gains tax is further lightened, for they will go on doing what they have always been doing: investing overseas rather than at home when profits are higher, or using surpluses to buy into or merge with profitable but essentially unproductive enterprises in communications, sports, fast-food franchising, etc. It is an understatement to say that they are no more public-spirited than the rest of us. Thus, what we have withdrawn from government will not reappear, as if by magic, in cooperative social endeavor; the valuable services that have been eliminated (and they are valuable to *someone*, or they would not have been undertaken in the first place) will simply disappear: the prospects of illness and old age become more terrifying, industrial slaughter more rampant, higher education more unavailable to children of workers and the poor.

How can it be otherwise? Let us look, for example, at what citizens acting in place of government might do if the libertarians are correct. First, could we somehow tithe ourselves to promote, on a collective basis, voluntaristic public policies or redistribution of

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income? The answer is almost certainly not. Rousseau wrote in *The Social Contract* that "the undertakings which bind us to the social body are obligatory only because they are mutual"; the reverse, in a complex society, is equally true. I pay taxes willingly because I know that all others are also going to do so; if I did not have that faith, I would not pay. The French, as an instance, lacking a workable tax-withholding system, notoriously underpay their tax obligations: they are not more "anarchic" than we are, they simply lack mutual trust because the system of their laws does not enforce it. Thus, I will not agree *voluntarily* to give over a significant portion of my income for social action unless assured first that others will also do so and, second, that institutions of some kind exist both to take up the slack in my own family's standard of living, and to make effective use of my contribution. Nor will they, without the same assurance; in the end, trapped in a vicious circle, none of us will do so. We will at best all increase our gifts to charitable and social action organizations in the same minuscule proportion as is currently the case, but nothing will be changed.

Suppose, even, that somehow I did wish to engage in a major personal effort to "change the world"—to redistribute income, engender institutions of equal opportunity such as would make caste and class a less dominating influence on everyone's lives, provide more genuine security for everyone, and get runaway social and economic institutions (particularly the great national and international corporations) under control. And suppose I wished to recruit thousands or millions of others to do the same, to engage in a collective commitment; what possible target could our actions have, other than the major organs of government that are already in place? What citizens' committees are going to repair the ravages that absentee corporations create as they move their operations about the nation or the world like pieces on a checkerboard? What voluntary actions can we take to restrain the fiscal ruthlessness of the health-care sector, which has so far proven impervious to every pressure from consumers and governments alike? Will libertarian representatives of that vast group of Americans who complain about their inability to make middle-class ends meet suddenly club together to send thousands of low-income children to college on full scholarships? None of these scenarios is remotely plausible, even could we believe against all the evidence of the historical record that the new apostles of the individualist creed had any intention of putting them into effect.

Taxation, in other words, is not (entirely) a compulsion that "they" lay on "us"; to some extent at least it is a "compulsion" we lay on ourselves, to give us a sufficient incentive to do what we really want to do so long as we can be sure that everyone else will do it too. If the tax system has lost legitimacy, that is because we no longer believe in its mutuality (there is an entirely correct popular suspicion that the wealthy do not pay their share of taxes), and because the way in which the benefits of taxation are allocated is not under democratic control. Genuine tax reform and an increase in political democracy might alleviate these resentments. Mere tax-cutting, after the first flush of enthusiasm, will not, since neither our class relations nor our political institutions will become an iota more democratic thereby; nor will the kind of economic growth that could make this a happier society to live in be likely to occur.

Moreover, it is far from merely a fiscal difficulty we are dealing with; the problem of state and society goes much deeper than that. The fact is (though the laissez-faire apologists never acknowledge it) that the present division of power and property that we are all subject to was instigated, promoted and cemented by public laws and state apparatuses themselves.

Suppose, as an instance, that for a moment we take the "anti-statists" more seriously than they deserve to be taken, and imagine that a budgetary decimation of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration releases "energies" of workers to deal with their working conditions themselves, and the employees of the asbestos industry demand a complete restructuring of working conditions: we can safely predict that the companies will refuse on the ground that profits, and therefore inevitably wages, would be seriously affected. Suppose the workers then demand to see the books. They cannot; *the law* protects corporations from having to accede to that demand. If they then go on strike, they will probably lose a prolonged strike, because *the law*—that is, *the state*—forbids mass picketing, secondary boycotts and all the other tactics that would give the workers a chance to overcome their lack of accumulated capital. Suppose further having lost their strike, they then sit in, seize the plant: *the state* will send in armed forces to remove them. To paraphrase a remark of Marshall Berman's: we may withdraw our energies from the state, but it will not withdraw its energies from us.

In sum, much of what seems like the cancer of American centralism is indeed indefensible, but that is because so much of it has been created not to redistribute income or control irresponsible corporations but to promote economic growth in such a way that their owners and managers are the chief beneficiaries. In this respect, government only reflects the major struggles of our political life. As the state comes actively to dominate our existence, it does so roughly in the same proportion as do the social actors it responds to. Some use the state to gain power for themselves; others, to defend themselves against the powerful. Weaken the state and it is almost certainly our collective capacity of self-defense against the powerful that will be most gravely weakened. The powerful will not suffer: they will merely shift the location of their dominance over us to the "private" institutions that they control even more tightly than they do the state.

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If the nature of our political life is really to be changed, rather than the levers of domination simply being relocated, that can only be by the mobilization of masses of people who currently lack control over their political destinies. That mobilization, no matter how small the community in which it originates, will only take place, and can only attain its objective, if its ultimate target is the capture of state power, to be used for new ends rather than those it now serves. □

Missiles

(Continued From Front Cover)

be programmed to fly a certain route at various altitudes along the way. This is called its flight "profile." It has an air-breathing jet engine and must fly in the atmosphere, where it scoops up air to mix with its fuel for combustion; it also needs the atmospheric density to remain airborne. This is in contrast to a ballistic missile which has enormous thrust and carries its own oxidizer as well as fuel, and thus can fly hundreds of miles above the earth.

Cruise missiles are not a new idea. Germany's V-2 "buzz bomb" of World War II renown was a cruise missile. After the war, the United States Navy put its version, called Regulus, on submarines. The sub had to surface while the crew ran out on deck to fire the missile. Then the sailors would scramble back down the hatch as the sub dove. Surfacing in that manner, of course, was risky business and it defeated the submarine's innate advantages of concealment and elusiveness. When hypersonic ballistic missiles that could be launched from underwater entered the picture, Regulus was abandoned.

After the United States developed the technology to miniaturize everything from nuclear warheads to jet engines and electronics, Pentagon strategists and corporate salesmen again became fascinated with cruise missiles. Until recently, the development effort focused on two types: the air-launched cruise missile belonging to the Air Force and the sea-launched cruise missile being designed by the Navy. They use an identical nuclear warhead, originally developed for a new radiation-hardened short-range attack missile tailored to the B-1's requirements. That weapon was halted with the B-1, but its new 200-kiloton warhead is adaptable to cruise missiles.

Also common to both the air-launched and sea-launched versions is a small (12 inches in diameter by 30 inches long) fanjet engine, weighing only 126 pounds. Although they have different shapes, their navigation system components are also the same. These components include an inertial guidance package controlling a small automatic pilot, which is periodically updated by a sensor system called TERCOM (*ter*rain *con*tour *m*atching). The entire package is no larger than a bread box and weighs fewer than 90 pounds.

TERCOM is the eye of the cruise missile. It follows a mapped target route with deadly accuracy. With TERCOM the cruise missile has almost 100 percent kill capability. TERCOM also watches the ground below so the missile can fly extremely low while dodging over and around obstacles. And even if it is picked up by hostile radar, the image in the scope could be a seagull. These are some of the reasons why cruise missiles are so attractive to the Pentagon as counterforce weapons. According to Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, the cruise missile "would probably be the best weapon against hardened targets, except time-urgent targets because it would take eight hours to get there, but at [censored] feet accuracy, it has the highest kill probability against hard targets of any of our forces." However, with careful planning and timing, along with their ability to evade detection, cruise missiles may very well be an effective weapon against even some of the "time-urgent" targets (targets such as missile sites that must be destroyed quickly before they can launch their missiles in a first strike).

Before the cruise missile is launched, the appropriate target is programmed into its computerized navigation package. TERCOM then compares what it "sees" with this digital map. When a discrepancy in its location is noted, TERCOM sends corrective instructions to the guidance package. The automatic pilot then makes the necessary course change.

Following the Navy's lead, the Air Force inaugurated its air-launched cruise missile program in 1973. The first concept, known as ALCM-A, was 14 feet long with a 25-inch noncircular cross section. Its shape and size were designed to be interchangeable with the short-range attack missiles on the rotary racks in the weapons bays of both the B-52 and B-1 bombers. Each rack holds eight missiles. The B-52 "G" and "H" models have had one rack installed plus twelve underwing pylons which brings their total missile capacity to twenty. The B-1 had three internal rotary racks which would have accommodated twenty-four missiles.

ALCM-As were designed to fly 650 nautical miles in the so-called "high-low profile." (The ones mounted under the wings of B-52s could carry an extra 400 pounds of fuel in a belly tank to stretch their range to 1,200 nautical miles.) The high part of the profile is flown during the first portion of the missile's flight pattern, when it is still far enough from enemy territory to be relatively safe. Jet engines are more efficient at the higher altitudes, but aircraft or cruise missiles at that altitude are easily detected by radar and destroyed. To survive, the subsonic cruise mis-

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siles must make themselves hard to spot. Thus, as the ALCM approaches hostile territory, it plunges to just above the earth's surface, sacrificing fuel for safety. That is the low aspect of the profile.

The high-low profile for the ALCM goes something like this. It is released from the bomber at about 45,000 feet. Within two seconds the wings and tail unfold and the fanjet engine starts up. For best fuel efficiency it cruises at about half the speed of sound most of the way, dropping to a mere 100 feet off the ground as it approaches enemy radar. It follows the hills and valleys until it gets within 50 miles of its target. Then it drops to a scant 50 feet off the gound while speeding up to mach-0.7 for the final dash.

The Navy's sea-launched cruise missile (SLCM) is more commonly called Tomahawk. It is 20½ feet long and 21 inches in diameter. It has been specifically designed for launching from the torpedo tubes of nuclear-powered submarines—whether strategic missile-launching types or the hunter-killer attack subs. In addition, strike cruisers and destroyers will also be equipped with the versatile Tomahawk which will start becoming operational in early 1980. The Navy says it plans to put Tomahawks on ninety to ninety-five attack submarines, twenty-two cruisers and thirty destroyers. The upshot of this proliferation is that these vessels will then be endowed with strategic nuclear capability, with damaging consequences to any arms control system.

In the course of their 2,100-mile high-low profile flight, Tomahawks burn a highly concentrated fuel known as "TH-Dimer." It is about 15 percent hotter than conventional jet fuel and allows more propulsive energy to be stored in a smaller volume. But research chemists are looking at something even better. They are developing "Shelldyne-H" which, being 20 percent more concentrated than Dimer, will stretch Tomahawk's range to the 2,500-nautical-mile reach of Polaris and Poseidon strategic ballistic missiles. That means that Polaris and Poseidon submarines can also carry Tomahawks and still be able to launch them without moving closer to their targets.

The tactical anti-ship version of the Tomahawk flies 300 miles to deliver its 980-pound conventional warhead. It is powered by a less efficient but cheaper turbojet engine and navigates with a modified version of the Harpoon missile's guidance package. A land-attack tactical Tomahawk equipped with a nuclear warhead is supposedly also in the armory. All versions of the Tomahawk look identical from the outside and are launched from the same vessels with the same launchers. Thus, under a strategic arms limitation treaty, it would be impossible to distinguish between tactical and strategic missiles with certainty.

Always ready to expand its sphere of operations, the Navy has conceived an air-launched variant of its Tomahawk SLCM, ostensibly for use with its carrier-based aircraft, but actually to compete with the Air Force's bomber-launched strategic cruise missile. Since the air-launched missile is dropped from an airplane, no booster rocket is needed, which reduces its length to 18½ feet. It also burns the less concentrated jet fuel, meaning that its range is cut to 1,600 nautical miles, which is still more than twice the range of the ALCM-A. The Navy's variant is usually called the Tomahawk ALCM or TALCM, and it would require a slight modification to the bomber's rotary racks because only seven will fit on each rack.

The Air Force couldn't ignore such a clear challenge. It responded with the ALCM-B, which it hopes will have a 1,500-mile range. Stretching the length of the ALCM-A another 5½ feet and increasing the wingspan slightly are calculated to accommodate the necessary additional fuel and the supplementary electronic countermeasure equipment that will make it less vulnerable. For the B-52 to accommodate the ALCM-B, modified rotary racks and reworked wing pylons would be necessary, and the bomber would be incapable of carrying any other weapons. The ALCM-B is too large for the bomb bay doors of the B-1, should that program ever be reactivated.

Since the smaller ALCM-A is completely interchangeable with short-range attack missiles and will fit all the bombers, there is controversy within the Defense Department over whether the A-version should be discontinued. Nevertheless, June 1980 has been set as a limited operational deadline (one B-52 with an interim modification to carry six ALCMs) for whatever missile is chosen. By then 40 percent of the target routes into the Soviet Union will be electronically mapped. Full initial operational capability (the first fully adapted B-52 carrying twenty cruise missiles) is planned for September 1981. By early 1987 the Air Force wants 8,364 ALCMs deployed on 173 B-52 bombers. The Navy, meanwhile, plans to put 1,200 Tomahawks on strike cruisers, destroyers and submarines. This is in addition to the air-launched Tomahawks the Navy will install on carrier-based aircraft in June 1979.

Ten competitive flyoffs between the Tomahawk and ALCM-B are scheduled to take place during the last half of this year. The winner will be announced in January 1980 with a production contract awarded the following month. A B-52 will be the primary launch vehicle for firing ALCMs during the flyoffs, but a modified wide-bodied jet transport could also be demonstrated. At least sixty cruise missiles could be loaded on such an aircraft. It is possible that many of these converted jetliners or transports could be purchased along with another 6,000 missiles. Needless to say, the manufacturers of these aircraft are scurrying to get into the business. Boeing has a plan for carrying seventy to ninety ALCMs on its 747 jumbo jet. Lockheed came up with a scheme whereby seventy-two ALCMs could be loaded on its C-5A transport. The Lockheed L-1011 is also being studied. McDonnell Douglas has made proposals for its DC-10 and C-15 airplanes.

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Not wanting to be left by the wayside, Rockwell International is touting its design for a B-1 bomber that could carry thirty full-length ALCM-B or TALCM weapons. The B-1 could then fill the dual role of penetrating bomber and cruise missile carrier, Rockwell says. But, of course, modifying the B-1 in such a manner would sacrifice many of the other capabilities for which it was originally designed. Critics in Congress point out that using the B-1 as a cruise missile carrier is analogous to using an Indianapolis racer as a moving van.

We can easily see why the Soviets are concerned about this prolific new weapon. Besides not being certain which are nuclear and which conventional, and not knowing from what kind of vehicle they will be launched, they fear that cruise missiles could become so numerous and could approach their homeland from so many different directions that protecting against them would be economically prohibitive. Defense against 3,000 cruise missiles would cost tens of billions of dollars.

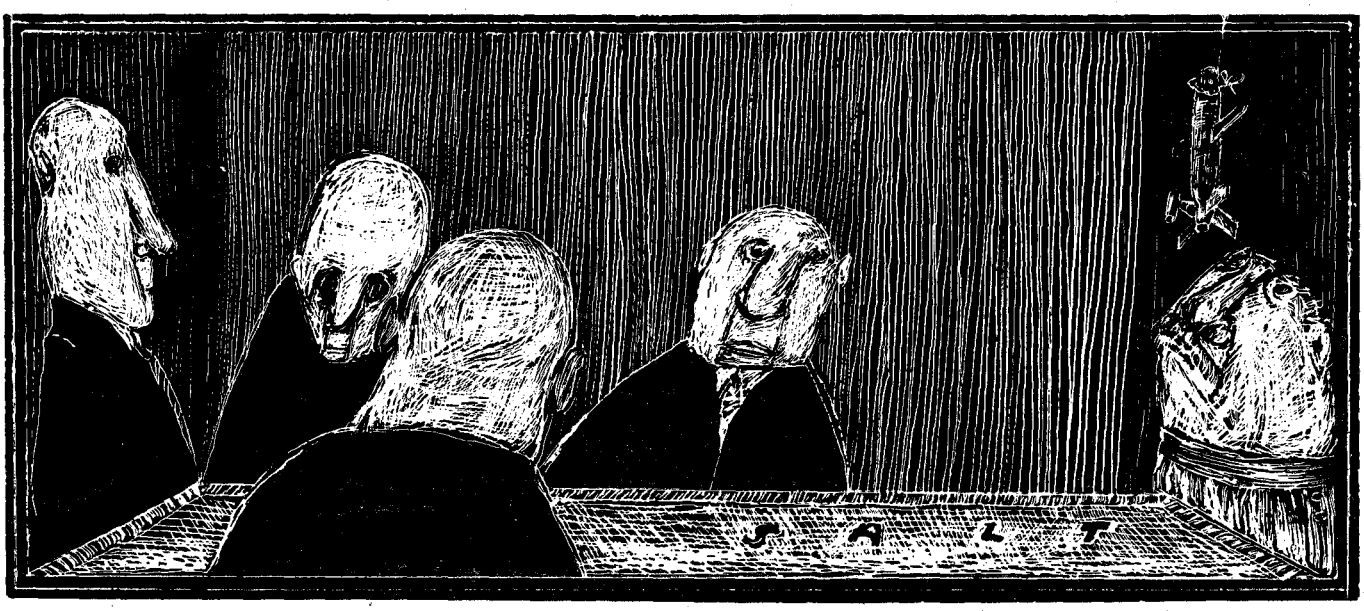
Cruise missiles have been the main obstacle in SALT II negotiations since at least 1975. For a long time the Soviets adamantly insisted that they be limited to a 600-kilometers (373-miles) range. More recently they have agreed to a 2,500-kilometer (1,349-mile) range for the ALCM. But Secretary Brown insists that the 2,500-kilometer straight-line range be increased 40 percent to allow for the zigzag course that he claims cruise missiles must fly. That would, of course, allow a possible range of almost 1,900 miles—a distance that neither TALCM nor ALCM-B is designed to travel. There would be no restriction as far as they are concerned.

The Carter Administration has now proposed that cruise missiles be removed from any future SALT II agreement and placed under a separate three-year protocol. The protocol would forbid deploying cruise missiles (and mobile missiles) but would not hinder their development. At the end of the three years (which President Carter wants to be from the time the protocol was proposed, not from when it is signed), the whole subject of cruise missile restrictions would be up for grabs again. The United States would be ready to deploy them and there would be no restrictions in SALT itself. The advantage that gives the United States is obvious.

What about the Russians? Yes, they have cruise missiles too, but they are of a completely different vintage than what the United States is working on. Except for about 400 SS-N-3 Shaddocks, none can go farther than 70 miles. The Shaddocks could actually fly 500 miles, but their crude guidance capability limits their effective range to 250. Even then, they need an airplane to guide them to their targets, or their submarine launchers must surface in order to fire them.

These 42-foot-long Shaddocks are divided about evenly between surface ships and Echo-2 submarines. Echo-2s are old subs that are nearing the end of their service life. When the SALT I Interim Agreement was signed in 1972, the United States was little concerned about them, and they weren't even included in the Soviet Union's quota of strategic submarines. But once a Soviet threat was needed to justify the development of American cruise missiles, the Pentagon began seeing the anti-ship Shaddocks and Echo-2 submarines as a menace.

An apparent Soviet successor to the Shaddock is the SS-NX-12, which has an effective range of 300 miles—the same as the tactical Tomahawk anti-ship missile. But there is no evidence that the Soviets are building cruise missile submarines to replace their aging Echo-2s, and the size of Shaddock and its successor would require a vessel specifically designed for them. In the absence of such a vessel, future launch platforms for cruise missiles must necessarily be surface ships. That lends credibility to Moscow's claim that its cruise missiles are solely anti-ship weapons.



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Given the United States' capabilities in anti-submarine warfare, and the handicaps of the Soviet Echo-2s, it is preposterous to propose that those weapons could threaten American shores. Even though Echo-2 submarines have been tracked into Cuban ports prior to 1975 and others have been detected in coastal waters, the United States Navy knows exactly how many are there and has its finger on every one.

The United States has other cruise missile projects afoot. The Navy's versatile Tomahawk has been selected as the candidate for a ground-launched cruise missile. NATO planners are eyeing a GLCM with a selectable-yield nuclear warhead and a 1,600-mile range. That would allow reaching all Warsaw Pact targets from as far away as Britain. It would also make all of the Soviet Union west of the Ural Mountains accessible to NATO missiles fired from anywhere in Western Europe, threatening 40 percent of the Russian population and most of the country's industry. GLCMs can be fired from four-tube mobile launchers on trucks and could replace some tactical ballistic missiles in Europe. Production of 696 of them is slated to start in May 1981 with the first one becoming operational in 1982.

Jealous of the intrusion of the Tomahawk into their cruise missile plans, the Air Force has designed a new bomber-launched weapon called the advanced strategic air-launched missile (ASALM), which will be the same size as short-range attack missiles and the ALCM-A and will be completely interchangeable. It will also be able to skim the ground for extended distances at supersonic speeds. It will have tail fins like a rocket but no wings. Once called the multimission missile, it will be able to knock down other aircraft designed to detect and destroy cruise missiles, destroy antiaircraft missile sites on the ground that threaten cruise missiles and bombers and penetrate long distances to demolish strategic targets. Having the same accuracy as a cruise missile, the ASALM will definitely be a hard-target killer. It could use the TERCOM guidance system but will probably use some advanced scheme of area correlation. In November 1977 the ASALM project was speeded up by two years and put into advanced development. It is scheduled to enter the final stages of development in November 1981, with the first missile being operational in late 1985.

In early 1975, then-director of Defense Research and Engineering, Dr. Malcolm Currie, stated that cruise missiles "are effective against advanced fighters and countering them requires extensive advanced-capability SAMs [surface-to-air missiles]." A year later the Pentagon salesmen changed their story to justify ASALM. They said cruise missiles will be effective only against the two-thirds of the targets that are lightly defended. To reach the remainder, they claimed, ASALM is needed because its supersonic speed will make it practically invulnerable to SAMs. This seems to be merely one more instance where military information is tailored to meet the desires of the Pentagon.

The technology that opened the door for th ASALM is the integral rocket/ramjet engine—solid-fuel rocket motor casing that also serves as th ramjet combustion chamber. When the ASALM launched from an aircraft, the rocket motor will ig nite and accelerate the missile to supersonic speed, a which time the ramjet can take over to maintain tha speed. After the rocket burns out, the nozzle liner wi fall out, leaving a more efficient shape for the ramje nozzle. Air ducts and fuel metering orifices will the open as the ramjet starts up. The new Shelldyne-I will be the fuel used for the ramjet and a greater vo ume can be carried because of the 30 to 40 percen space saving made possible by integrating the en gines. Hotter fuel and more of it makes it possible t use the simpler, cheaper and faster ramjet engine in stead of the more efficient fanjet.

Expanding in another direction, the Air Force i trying to pin down the technology that will lead to a intercontinental cruise missile. It is envisioned a having several stages, which will drop off as they con sume their capacity of fuel. Proposals for a feasibilit study will be requested from industry this year. Bu the Defense Department has already decided tha launching a massive cruise missile force in respons to a Soviet nuclear strike is a feasible concept. Th cost of such a thing would be astronomical. But th profits would be juicy.

Cruise missiles are just the beginning of a long lin of weapons that will upset the nuclear balance of ter ror. Any doubts that they are not a first-strike weap on will be erased when the supersonic ASALM enter the picture. There seems to be no end to thei possibilities—unless, of course, they are used. That would likely be the end of most things as we know them. □

AWARDS, MEDALS AND NOMINATIONS

The University of Missouri School of Journalism has announced that *The Nation* will be awarded the Missouri Medal for Distinguished Service in Journalism on April 20 of this year. The Missouri Medal, according to Dean Roy M. Fisher, is awarded for continuing service in journalism over a period of time.

Also, the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism in New York has announced that *The Nation* is a finalist in three different categories for its 1979 National Magazine Awards. Now in their fourteenth year, the Awards were established in 1965 at the invitation of the American Society of Magazine Editors under a grant from the Magazine Publishers Association, and winners will be announced shortly. The categories are:

(1) ESSAYS AND CRITICISM: "Allen Weinstein's 'Perjury': The Case Not Proved Against Alger Hiss," by Victor Navasky.

(2) REPORTING: "The Guatemala Papers: How Dulles Worked the Coup d'Etat," by Stephen Schlesinger.

(3) SINGLE-TOPIC ISSUE: "Disarmament: Essays on the History, Politics, Economics, Urgency and Future of Disarmament."

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Retrieving The Other Zionism

FAWAZ TURKI

UNDERGROUND TO PALESTINE. *By I.F. Stone. Pantheon Books. 260 pp. $10.*

In the great catalogue of ruin inflicted on Europe by German fascism, one single episode stands out: the mass murder of European Jewry. At war's end, 100,000 Jewish refugees, remnants of this Holocaust, were languishing in displaced persons' camps around the Continent. Few countries in the world seemed anxious to open their doors to them. Palestine, which in the Balfour Declaration of 1917 the British had assured Zionist leaders would be looked upon with favor as a "National Home" for Jews, seemed the natural place for these refugees to go.

It was not, however, so easy a task. Political and demographic problems in Palestine, triggered by the Balfour Declaration, had created conditions for a confrontation between two movements dialectically opposed to each other: Palestinian and Zionist. The Palestinians, who formed 92 percent of the population in 1917, were becoming alarmed in the 1930s at the continued influx of Jewish immigrants into the country and by its political implications for their future. In response to their protests, general strikes and armed uprising, the British Mandate authorities came out with the White Paper of 1939 pledging to limit Jewish immigration and to consider the question of independence at a later date.

In Europe, after the war, the Jewish underground was committed to transplanting as many Jewish refugees as possible to Palestine in spite of the British blockade. I.F. Stone, who wrote his *Underground to Palestine* thirty-two years ago, went to the Continent in 1947 to become "the first newspaperman to travel the Jewish underground in Europe and to arrive in Palestine on a so-called illegal boat." Although throughout his book Stone inextricably links the very syntax of his feelings and his Jewishness to the enormous suffering of the refugees he travels with to Palestine, referring often to "my people," *Underground* is free of both strident lament and the insistent clamor to indict those responsible for inflicting on his people pain beyond all rational understanding. It might have been easy for a reporter, contemplating that pain, to be tempted to do just that. Instead, I.F. Stone has written, as everyone who knows the rigorous integrity of this commentator would expect, a book that is serious, literate and rich.

Although full of human detail as well as tact in its descriptions of the refugees' world of nonbeing and their subsequent sufferings, *Underground* is rooted in the circumstances of its time. I.F. Stone did not, as it was fashionable for Jewish leaders in those days not to do, have a direct acquaintance with the response by Palestinians to Jewish immigration, the impact it was having on their society and the threat it posed to their aspirations for independence and statehood.

Like other commentators at the time, Stone was preoccupied with the élan of an *Eretz-Israel*, a Jewish state whose political and ethical justification did not consider the consequences that this event would have on the lives and destiny of the Palestinian people. To be sure, Zionism, as a movement representing secular Jewish nationalism, was imbued with a great many ideological currents, from the socialist Hashomer Hatzair faction that called for binationalism to the Jabotinsky faction that called for an *Eretz-Israel* to encompass present-day Israel, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the whole of Jordan; but the predominant biases of the movement centered around the establishment of a Jewish state—an ordering of political reality in Palestine that drew inevitable resistance from the Palestinians. A Jewish state in Palestine, the Palestinians argued, must ultimately mean the alienation of their land and lead either to their expulsion or to subordination in their own country, for how could a *Jewish* state in Palestine be created with a Palestinian Arab majority still living there? When the ethos of binationalist Zionism had been supplanted by the unabashedly colonial one of Theodor Herzl ("We shall there form a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism") or by the dreadful pronouncements of Menachem Begin, problems began. For this kind of Zionism sought to establish Jewish ownership in Palestine.

And this is precisely what I.F. Stone addresses himself to in the second segment of his book, written in 1978, which he calls "Reflections and Meditations Thirty Years After." Here Stone laments the mutilation by mainline Zionists of the idiom and theory of "The Other Zionists" whose early ideologues, inside and outside Palestine, had called for coexistence of Jew and Arab in binationalism; and he laments the difficult position today of Jewish American dissidents in the United States who dare to criticize Israel.

The major current in Zionist thought, he writes, has always nourished itself on the illusion that the Jews were to establish a state in a land without a people. The other Zionism, on the other hand, "now almost forgotten," was always prepared "to face up to the reality that Palestine was not an empty land but contained another and kindred people" who had been inhabiting it for a thousand years. Stone relished the rational and moral optimism of Ahad Ha'am, Judah Magnes, A.D. Gordan, Martin Buber and other humanist Zionists who wanted "the political aims of Zionism to be limited by the national rights of the Palestinians." The displacement of this sensibility from dominance in Zionist thought, and the ascendancy of hard-line Zionism reflected, as Stone reminds us, in what Jabotinsky told the Peel Commission ("No tribunal has ever had the luck of trying a case where all the justice was on the side of one party and the other party had no case whatsoever"), has created laws of interaction between Palestinians and Israelis inevitably based on confrontation. Stone insists that in the end "the two peoples must live together, either in the same Palestinian state or side by side in two Palestinian states."

Perhaps the emphasis in recent years on the peripheral issues in Palestine relating to territory, diplomatic relations, settlements and the rest of it, has blunted our sense of the existence of two facts: that there was once another Zionism and that there is today a plus-minus dichotomy between Palestinians

Fawaz Turki, a Palestinian writer who was born in Haifa and currently lives in the United States, is author of The Disinherited: Journal of a Palestinian Exile *(Monthly Review Press).*

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and Israelis based on the oppressive kinship of occupier and occupied, victimizer and victimized, and state and stateless. Implicit throughout I.F. Stone's book is the notion that for durable peace to prevail, the one must be revived and the other must be brought to an end. The notion is a measure of the writer's compassion, humanity and resources of feeling. □

Time for Assessment

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

In the general brouhaha about Camp David, Carter's second-term chances, West Bank "autonomy," Sinai oil and the post-Pahlevi Middle East, one still small voice has been drowned. In a more intelligent world, the publication of a book by the co-founder and deputy leader of Al Fatah and the Palestine Liberation Organization, a book moreover which calls for moderation and conciliation, might be considered at least as much of a news event as the latest breathless communiqué. This has not happened in the case of *Palestinian Without a Country* (*Palestinien sans patrie*, published by Fayolle, Paris, 1978), written by Abu Iyad—pen name and nom de guerre of Salah Khalaf—and published with a foreword by Eric Rouleau of *Le Monde*.

Abu Iyad transcends the pamphleteseé and jargon of so many Palestinian utterings:

> The time for an assessment has come. Thirty years have passed since the exodus of the Palestinian people, twenty years since the foundation of the Fatah. I must say with profound regret that we are in a far worse situation today than the one which prompted us to establish our movement in 1958.

He goes further, and breaks the usual strained silence which is maintained by Palestinian spokesmen about the Arab Governments. Egypt, of course, has sold out. Syria has "lent a helping hand to the Christian Right against us in Lebanon." Iraq has "had our most militant outstanding fighters abroad assassinated." Too many Arab regimes maintain puppet Palestinian "fronts" for their own ends.

In a way, there is nothing remarkable about this except that Abu Iyad has said it openly. But, unlike some of his fellows, he does not see "traitors" or "plotters" as responsible for the failure of the P.L.O. He says that quite plainly

> The main reason for our setback lies in our ignorance of Western society and of the complexities of the democratic mechanisms which function in it. For the most part we fail to adequately assess the imperialistic policies practiced by a government—and this refers particularly to the United States—the psychological motives that are perfectly honourable in themselves, which mould the impressions formed of us by the population.

This again is an admission of a fairly high order. So is Abu Iyad's characterization of Arab "host countries" as "authoritarian systems which tolerate no dissident opinions, particularly when differences or conflicts arise between the state and the resistance." These sorts of opinions are usually reserved by Palestinians for private discussion.

Iyad gets even nearer the bone when it comes to P.L.O. tactics in the immediate present and future. He openly admits that there are now many Palestinians who would not choose to live in a West Bank mini-state even if one were to be set up. But, as he says, more than half the Lebanese population live outside their own country without losing statehood. And, after all, if there were to be a state then there would be a "right of return" and, moreover, a respectable passport or identity card for any Palestinian now living in uncongenial circumstances elsewhere. Then he turns to the main point:

> Do we constitute a threat to Israel? First of all isn't it somewhat paradoxical, to say the least, that the greatest military power in the region, which keeps twenty united [*sic*] Arab states at bay, should claim to have its security and indeed its very existence threatened by such a tiny neighbor? For my part, I propose that there be no more subversive Palestinian activities from the day we have our own state to run and, above all, to preserve. Extremism must disappear from our ranks, even that of the "Rejection Front."

He goes on to say that those who disagree will be as containable as those who, from either a Marxist or an ultra-orthodox point of view, reject Zionism but live in Israel. This might seem wishful from an exile intellectual, but from the head of Fatah special operations it deserves more attention than it has had thus far.

And I nearly forgot. In his closing paragraphs he echoes the disillusionment which informs the opening ones and says:

> I say frankly! I do not believe that my generation will have the joy of seeing the birth of an independent state, even in a small part of Palestine.

Certain voices in Israel have already called for a response to this unusual candor and moderation. These small germinal shoots might prove at least as promising as ceremonial signatures further up the world's chain of command. □

Christopher Hitchens, foreign editor of The New Statesman *in London, recently returned from a trip to the Middle East.*

BOOK NOTES

Black Lives

CAREY McWILLIAMS

AN AMERICAN CRUSADE: The Life of Charles Waddell Chesnutt. *By Frances Richardson Keller. Brigham Young University Press 303 pp. $11.95.*

An interesting, well-written, meticulously documented biography of a most remarkable American. Light-skinned, fine-featured, blue-eyed, Chestnutt (1858-1932) might easily have "passed" had his sympathies and commitments not precluded it. As a young man he moved to Cleveland from Fayetteville, N.C. There as a teacher and later as a lawyer and court reporter he managed to support his family in a reasonably comfortable fashion while trying to establish himself as a writer. He published three novels, none of which sold well, but his writing drew praise from G.W. Cable, Walter Hines Page, S.S. McClure, Howells and others. One of these novels, based on the Wilmington Riots of 1898, has been praised by historians for its accuracy and insight. Unfortunately, the novels were published in the years (1900 to 1905) when the Jim Crow system was being established in the South and American capitalism was beginning to expand overseas. Although his thinking ran counter to the main currents of the time, Chesnutt's racial views, and his comments on Cuba

Carey McWilliams is the former editor of The Nation.

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and Haiti, make good reading today. His writings deserve to be better known; he was more often on target than either of his friends, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois.

THE DIARIES OF WILLARD MOTLEY. *Edited, and with an introduction by Jerome Klinkowitz. Foreword by Clarence Major. Iowa State University Press. 196 pp. $12.95. Paper $8.50.*

In the view of Langston Hughes, Motley was one of "the ten most noted names in American Negro writing." He was born in a white neighborhood in Chicago, and the characters in his four published novels are whites. Conventional and conservative, he was a close observer with a fine eye for detail and a great sympathy. He wrote far more than he ever succeeded in having published. At age 16 he began a diary which he continued until 1943, the year before he completed his first and best novel, *Knock on Any Door*. Jerome Klinkowitz has skillfully edited excerpts from the diaries to illustrate Motley's sharp observations and the way he used his experiences in his novels. "I want to write as part of my subject," he once said. Race was not a theme; "my race," he wrote, "is the human race." The diary entries on Los Angeles suggest that some venturesome Southern California publisher should issue his *Adventure*, an unpublished novel dealing with this experience.

THE SEPARATE PROBLEM: Case Studies of Black Education in the North, 1900-1930. *By Judy Jolley Mohraz. Greenwood Press. 192 pp. $14.95.*

A valuable study of black education in three Northern cities, Indianapolis, Philadelphia and Chicago, in the years from 1900 to 1930. The studies deal with "the separate problem," that is, segregation, both before and after the great migration to the North that began during World War I. With minor variations, de facto segregation had already become the established pattern in each of these cities before the migration got underway. But black education did not represent a separate strategy: lower-class children of all races were generally discriminated against in the quality of instruction they received. So-called "progressive" reforms such as intelligence testing, ability grouping and a differentiated curriculum, simply reinforced the racial status quo. The author concludes that the segregated schools of this period were inherently

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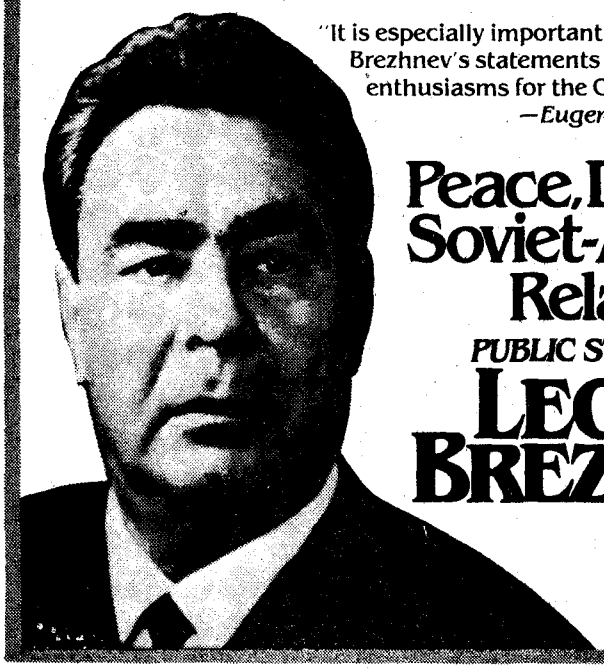

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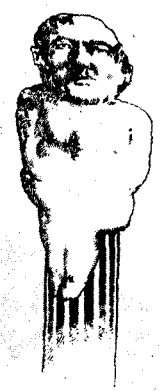

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unequal and that the educational system reflected the attitudes of a prejudiced society. In many instances, black educators supported de facto segregation since mixed schools usually barred black teachers. A fine study.

RED, BLACK, AND GREEN: Black Nationalism in the United States. *By Alphonzo Pinkney. Cambridge University Press. 258 pp. Paper $4.95.*

The author modestly insists that this is not a definitive study of black nationalism. Perhaps not, but it contains good accounts of the nationalist tradition, the Marcus Garvey movement, Malcolm X, the Black Panther Party, cultural nationalism and the religious nationalism of the Black Muslims. As Dr. Pinkney sees it, the future of black nationalism is uncertain; he also offers good reasons for doubting that liberation can be achieved in a capitalist society. Not that socialism would automatically eliminate racism but it would be a necessary first step. Of particular interest is the discussion of why blacks have not yet achieved political unity or been able to fashion effective coalitions and alliances with other disadvantaged groups.

PAUL ROBESON SPEAKS. Writings, Speeches, Interviews, 1918-1974. *Edited, with an introduction and notes by Philip S. Foner. Brunner/Mazel Publishers. 603 pp. $17.50.*

A collection of Paul Robeson's speeches, writings and interviews, with a useful and scholarly introduction by Philip S. Foner. The documentation is excellent. A valuable collection.

PAUL ROBESON: The Great Forerunner. *By the Editors of Freedomways. Dodd, Mead & Company. 383 pp. $12.95.*

Contains four pieces by Robeson, selections from four speeches, sixteen pieces about aspects of his life by various authors (of particular interest is "Paul Robeson at Peekskill" by Charles H. Wright), eight tributes by poets, twenty-three prose tributes; chronology, notes, bibliography, some fine photographs and a good index. □

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A Moral Life

HAROLD CLURMAN

ALBERT CAMUS: A Biography. *By Herbert R. Lottman. Doubleday and Company. 753 pp. $16.95.*

Reading this book, the first complete record of Albert Camus's life and career, I am reminded of Anatole France's eulogy of Emile Zola spoken on the occasion of his burial in the Pantheon of Paris. "He was a moment in the conscience of mankind." Nothing in Camus's history was as sensational as Zola's role in the Dreyfus affair but from his early youth there was in Camus a constant commitment in thought and deed to truth, justice and the struggle against tyranny.

Lottman's chronicle is the work of a perceptive and conscientious reporter rather than that of an artist. His notation of facts is as exhaustive as it is exact but he hardly attempts a psychological or philosophical synthesis, a coherent portrait of Camus's being. Yet the material for such a summation is certainly here in the generous quotations from Camus's writing and in the comments of those who knew him.

Two aspects of Camus's character become clear: a courageous assertiveness in acting upon his social and intellectual sentiments and convictions, along with a peculiar reticence, an uncertainty and a withdrawal into a veiled skepticism which made a total avowal of his most intimate feelings difficult.

The combination of these traits caused some confusion among those—especially Americans—who had read him carelessly or had only read about him. He was therefore tagged as an "existentialist" and not infrequently as a "nihilist." He was neither. Existentialism purports to define and rationalize a precise philosophic position which Camus never aimed to do. His basic response to the negative tendencies which often appeared to possess him was revulsion. The process of Camus's development is an ascent from pessimism, an agonized climb from a dogged despair to an embrace of life at all costs and the headlong assumption of responsibility which that embrace entails.

The ambiguity in Camus's spirit may be traced to certain facts of his personal history. He was born in the "melting pot" (Moslems, French natives, colonial settlers) of Algeria, and grew up in a dreary working-class neighborhood, the son of a French father employed in a wine cellar and killed in the Battle of the Marne eight months after his son's birth, and a mother of Spanish extraction who throughout her life remained a total illiterate. He himself acquired an excellent education and was for a while a teacher. Another influence on his moral disposition was that from the age of 17 to the time of his death at 47 he suffered from tuberculosis.

A certain indecision marked the approach to his every enterprise though most of them ended in noble effort. At 22 he joined the Algerian Communist Party, not from any Marxist enthusiasm but, he averred, as an "experiment." He resigned from it two years later. What prompted his joining was "a strong desire to reduce the sum of unhappiness and embitteredness which empoison mankind." His working-class partisanship remained constant. When, on receiving the Nobel Prize in 1957, he was challenged to state his position, he declared "I'm for the left, despite myself and despite it." Nor was he sure that he was an "intellectual." His motivations were always emotional. Some said of him (whether as a dig or a compliment, one cannot say) that he always spoke "as a great voice soaring over factions."

The core of Camus's character was discerned in his youth by a fellow left-

Harold Clurman is The Nation*'s theater columnist.*

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ving militant: "[Camus] continues to *hink* despair, even to write it, but he *ives* hope." This was hardly to be surnised from his epoch-making novel, *The Stranger*, published in 1942 during he Nazi occupation of France or, for hat matter, from his play *Caligula*, written concurrently though not produced till 1945. *The Stranger* is an emblematic graph of alienation, the story of a dazed and benumbed young man, a victim of a world lacking the sustenance of any redemptive faith. His violent outburst springs from spiritual torpor. It is a neurosis which so many young people in Europe—and later in America—not only found understandable but sympathetic. But Sartre from the first knew that *The Stranger* was "a novel about the absurd and against the absurd."

There are differences as to which of Camus's books are his "best." For me, the two signal works are his essay, *The Myth of Sisyphus*, and *The Plague*. Sisyphus, who rolls the symbolic stone up to the mountain peak only to have it forever hurtle down again must be imagined, Camus explained, as "happy." For it is the very essence of human nature, in its divine folly, to struggle against the inevitable and perpetual impediments to a decent life. It is an awareness of this tragic destiny which renders a man or a woman heroic.

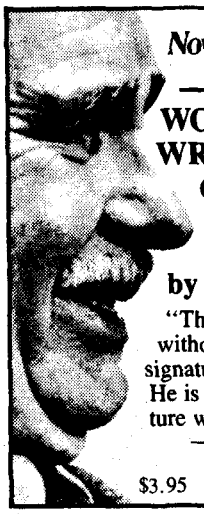
Lottman tells us that according to Camus, *The Plague* represents the Nazi invasion of Europe. In my view, the plague is simply the chronic incidence of evil. Camus draws a dramatic tableau of how humankind confronts its plagues. The weak succumb to despair; the cowardly try to evade it; the religious receive it as due punishment for their sinfulness and pray that they may be forgiven and spared; the racketeers traffic in and plot to profit from it and the engaged man (a doctor) undertakes to heal its lesion and is prepared to die in the attempt. This last is where Camus "stands." For he believed that "There are more things in man to admire than to scorn."

The duality of Camus's nature, his passion for life and for the living, together with his vulnerability, fated him to a series of personal crises. One of these was provoked by certain reactions to his book, *The Rebel* (1951). The goal of *The Rebel* is, according to Lottman, "nothing less than to examine in depth and in history the theories and forms of revolt in an attempt to discover why ideals are perverted—revolt becoming murder (Prometheus becoming Caesar)—and then to attempt to lay true paths to a necessary revolt against our common fate from which crime—even legitimated, state-sponsored crime—would be rigorously excluded."

The book was vehemently attacked by a reviewer in *Les Temps modernes*—the monthly edited by Sartre—and later by Sartre himself. The specific ground for the vilification was a political rift (not mentioned by Lottman) antedating the book's publication. Camus was convinced that since Sartre knew that concentration camps for dissidents existed in the Soviet Union, he should have exposed the fact. Sartre on the other hand refrained from doing so because it would harm the Communist Party in France and shake French workers' faith in Communism, which he firmly believed was their only salvation.

Sartre, in other words, took a tactically political position and Camus an idealistic one. Camus, according to Sartre, was still possessed of a bourgeois mentality and was guilty of a soulful quixoticism which ignored the dictates of historical necessity. Camus was "soft," not a true revolutionary; he had no understanding of working-class needs and demands. Sartre and Camus were no longer comrades in the same camp.

Camus from the beginning had done everything he could to warn the French Government that unless it altered its policies in Algeria, rebellion would surely follow. The Moslems had to be granted complete equality; colonial exploitation had to cease. When the Moslems took to arms and both sides resorted to torture, Camus became publicly silent. He did not favor a wholly independent Algeria—he espoused integration—because, for one thing, he



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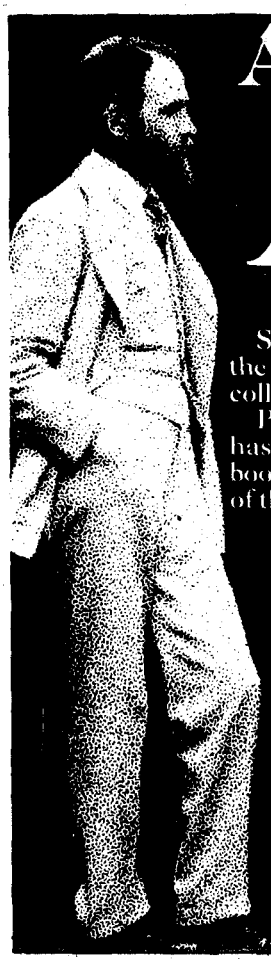

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could not imagine depriving the white French natives of their rights or exiling them to the French mainland which had never been their home.

When called upon to declare himself openly on the matter, Camus first replied, "If a terrorist throws a grenade in a marketplace where my mother shops, and if he kills her, I would be responsible, if to defend justice, I defended terrorism. I love justice but I also love my mother." What scandalized many people even more was the remark he made in Stockholm at the conclusion of the Nobel Prize ceremony: "I believe in justice, but I shall defend my mother above justice." Thus Camus offended both the colonialists and their opponents—and was reviled by all.

Camus had always been unalterably opposed to capital punishment. He was secretly instrumental in saving combatants from both sides of the Algerian War from execution. More overtly, after the expulsion of the Nazis from France, he signed petitions to spare the life of a vicious French collaborationist who had long before the war been his implacable literary and political enemy.

Because of this inner and public conflict and the deep-seated desire to be unfailingly just and responsible, Camus had an abiding sense of guilt. It is this which Camus's last important novel, *The Fall* (1956), embodies. It is an outcry: I cannot be—no one ever is—responsible enough. He was a penitent judge.

Lottman's book deals only indirectly with Camus as a literary figure. He does not, for example, more than mention in passing Camus's style which possesses a special eloquence, a euphony and a lucidity comparable to the masters of classic French prose. Nor does he dwell on (though he more than suggests) the complexities of Camus's variegated love life.

Despite his illness, his frequent relapses and his spells of profound melancholy, Camus's life was very active. He was an amateur actor; he founded a labor theater; he worked as a journalist; he was an editor of a leading newspaper (originally part of the underground resistance), and an editor too of the most prestigious publishing firm in France, and last but not least a director. He was always fascinated by the stage and longed in his last years to enjoy the "brotherhood of the theater."

Lottman is therefore obliged to move in many areas and his book is rich in anecdotes of every kind. There is, for instance, a vivid picture of the continuing cultural (especially literary) life in Paris under the occupation—always, as usual in Europe and particularly in France, intimately bound up with politics. The brilliant ferment of the literary coteries in Saint-Germain-des-Prés after the war makes another exciting chapter.

The last act of this life is painful. When I read of the steps which led to Camus's fatal auto accident, I very nearly wept. His passing was a great loss to France and the world. Sartre at last acknowledged this: "He represented, in this century, and against History, the present-day heir of that long line of moralists whose works constitute what is perhaps most original in French letters. His stubborn humanism, strict and pure, austere and sensual, delivered uncertain combat against the massive and deformed events of the day. But inversely, by the unexpectedness of his refusals, he reaffirmed, at the heart of our era, against the Machiavellians, against the golden calf of realism, the existence of the moral act." □

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

Robert Altman, says Twentieth Century-Fox, was so impressed by Paul Dooley and Marta Heflin when they played secondary roles in *A Wedding* that he determined to write them a love story of their own. In that case, we have gained something from that sorry piece of work. *A Perfect Couple* casts Dooley and Heflin as the Romeo and Juliet of two socially antagonistic families in Los Angeles, where family "life styles" run to extremes. He is Alex Theodopoulos, son of a rigidly repressed Greek family that might have been drawn by Charles Addams. She is Sheila Shea, vocalist in a rock group called "Keepin' 'Em Off the Streets" that lives and works in a ramshackle warehouse, the dishevelment of personal relations being checked only by the discipline of rehearsals.

These perfect, if incongruous, lovers meet through the good offices of "Great Expectations," which apparently is a real Los Angeles dating bureau that matches couples by making videotapes of applicants as they discuss their preferences and aversions. The courtship is not entirely smooth—his family calls her a whore, she denounces them as creeps and he dismisses her family as a bunch of weirdos (I believe I remember the epithets accurately; in any case, they were to that effect). But fear not, it all ends happily.

A Perfect Couple is a relaxed, unpretentious film, at the other end of the Altman spectrum from the double-domed (and witless) *Quintet*. It is suffused with music—both rock, much of it written by Altman's co-author, Allan Nicholls, and symphonic (The Los Angeles Philharmonic). Alex's sister being an orchestra cellist and his father a domestic tyrant so dedicated to the classical repertory that he assembles his family for nightly concerts during which he waves a baton at the hi-fi with no sense of his own absurdity. Altman, a man not excessively tolerant of the human race, has a soft spot for musical entertainers (viz., *Nashville*), and Keepin' 'Em Off the Streets is an ingratiating if messy crowd. Dooley and Heflin play well together, he bumblingly determined, she disarmingly wistful but not without weapons. *A Perfect Couple* will not much preoccupy future historians of the cinema; it is a slight tale about two lonely rebels from wildly divergent but equally bizarre family circles, presented with imagination and a lot of bounce. It intends to entertain and it succeeds.

The screen version of Sylvia Plath's autobiographical novel, *The Bell Jar*, about a young woman's struggle to save her sanity, does not succeed. I have not read the book, and cannot say how, or whether, it avoids the problems inherent in that sort of plot. However, the picture is both morose and boring and, watching it, I could not imagine how it could be otherwise. Marilyn Hassett is convincing enough as a college girl who is driven by insecurity and family and social pressures to make herself and everyone around her as miserable as possible. Julie Harris seems appallingly accurate as the conventional mother of a gifted, cruel and self-destructive daughter. The heroine's arrogance, her dangerous gestures of defiance (that is, most people would think it imprudent of an Ivy League young spinster to let herself be picked up and made drunk by a Latino disk jockey) are surely in character, and it is

Coming Soon

Renowned scholar of the Sioux, Raymond DeMallie, explores the spurious ethnography of Ruth Beebe Hill's *Hanta Yo*.

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unlucky but not implausible (nor, generally speaking, disastrous) that her boyfriend should turn out to be as self-centered as he is square.

The Bell Jar, in short, is well cast and scrupulously directed (Larry Peerce), but since there was nothing I could do for the unhappy young woman, I was itching to scram. Deeply neurotic people are wearisome company; they give you nothing and put no leash on their own demands. It beats me how anyone could hope to turn the virtually solo performance of such a person into endurable theater. □

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

Kenneth Hayes Miller is an artist whose work calls for a museum exhibition, both for its intrinsic interest and for his influence on American art. His students include Isabel Bishop, Edward Laning and Reginald Marsh who, with Miller, constitute what has been called "14th Street Genre." Their style is one in which contemporary observation of the streets of New York is presented in terms compatible with old masterish precepts and models. No museum has appreciated the opportunity, however, so it fell to a gallery to arrange the exhibition (Zabriskie Gallery, through March).

Miller is one of the first artists to avow his necessary occupancy of New York City. "I feel as though my life can have meaning here," he wrote in 1914, but it was not the contact with other intellectuals that he relished. "Every day I walk the streets . . . human beings! To my sense infinitely richer than trees and grass, lakes and hills." In about 1920 he arrived at an iconography that reflected his urbanism, which is a significant variation on the Baudelairean dandy's appreciation of the streets as a spectacle.

Miller lived in the heart of a shopping district (14th Street and Union Square) and he observed, as Isabel Bishop did, that women were the main consumers. Even the Depression did little to cut down on this activity. In the still-unwritten history of the modern city in art (which so far rests on Walter Benjamin's writings about Baudelaire), Miller is very important. His imagery is an explicit recognition of the role of women in street life—as consumers, not as prostitutes as in earlier painting.

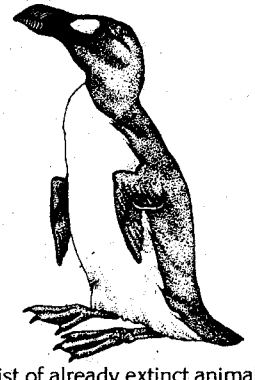
Miller stressed the current style of his shoppers' clothes: fox furs, cloche hats, gloves, shawl collars, chokers, big brooches, as well as occasional marcel waves and shingle cuts. It was a part of his earnestness or his wit that he could make the soft tailoring of the period—unpadded shoulders, draped rather than buttoned clothes—resemble the pliable drapery of 15th-century Italian masters. Fashion and aesthetic formality were complementary in his practice: chokers, as they follow the base of the neck, stress its columnar nature; shawl collars and fox furs, as they sit on the shoulders, give an unforced but unmistakable three-dimensionality to the head above and the body below.

Art history was no less real to Miller than the sociology of women as shoppers. His regard for the art of the past is summarized by the quotations in two paintings which were not in the Zabriskie show. His painting of "Ice Skaters," 1942, is based on Luca Signorelli's "Conversion of St. Paul" in the Sacristy of St. John, Loreto (which he knew in reproduction), and his "Nude by Penthouse Window," 1939-48, is a Manhattan version of Manet's "Olympia." In the former, he draws an ironic parallel between two falls, one crucial to the founding of Christianity, the other secular and everyday. His paraphrase of Manet's painting, a work itself rich in quotations from the grand manner, refers both to it and to its antecedents. Even when allusion is not specific, the poised formality, the coherent interaction of parts, evoke a sense of tradition. His "Fitting Room" (Metropolitan Museum, borrowed by Zabriskie) resembles Piero della Francesca's "Flagellation" as if painted by Renoir.

The Zabriskie catalogue reprints an early text by Lloyd Goodrich which includes the conventional compliment that "remaining independent on current movements, he has based his art of the fundamentals of form and design as he perceives them in the art of all ages." However, even fundamentals are subject to revision, including Miller's classicizing aesthetic. His sense of the past as a binding resource for art was widely held at the time—Jean Cocteau in *A Call to Order*, 1923, and the Valori Plastici group in Italy, founded in 1918, are parallel to Miller. His taste for whole forms, rounded and statuesque, can be compared to Carlo Carra's monumental figures: Carra, a member of Valori Plastici, took Giotto and Masaccio as models and similarly Miller's preferred models were early Renaissance.

The figurative art of the 1920s and '30s is a new era of research and marketing. Miller's revival is not an isolated instance. For example, last year the *Archives of American Art Journal* (volume 17, number 2) printed Guy Péne du Bois's writings on realism, part of an unpublished manuscript of the early 1940s. John Baker introduced the text by writing, among other things: "From the perspective of modernist art theory his work may seem unimportant because insufficiently innovative." Implicit here is the notion that abstract art overtook figurative art historically: after all, "innovation" is certainly preferable to the lack of innovation. However, four years ago, speaking at the College Art Association meeting in Washington, D.C., Bradley J. Nickels proposed another explanation for realism's loss of prestige. He argued that it was not the contest with abstract art that was the problem. He considered that realism had been separated from the naturalistic practice of Thomas Eakins and Robert Henri and had become overconcerned with stylization. Thus, internal weakness as well as outside competition caused the decline of real-

And then there were none.



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ı. It is an idea that can be tested by Bois's work which is on view at the aham Gallery until May 12.

Du Bois was young enough to be ller's student (born in 1884 as opsed to 1876) but he carried Miller's upulous formality into a realm of shing stylization. He was a professnal art critic as well as a painter and such is remembered for his support realism. He defined the realist artist "a shameless fellow completely unraid of reality . . . his decisions free of priori dictation, academic formulas, all the shibboleths by which dependt man's vision is directed and condioned. A brave man and sometimes a ıthless one." His own work developed ss robustly. Typical are his "Sportsomen, France" of the '20s, a stylized gh-life subject, the contours of which ıggest *Vogue* or *Vanity Fair*, and "Art tudent" of the '30s. This is flattened in style deriving from Cezanne via Moigliani, but it is Cezanne simplified to few dumb curves and planes. Du ois's manneristic practice as an artist contrary to the standards stated in is writing. His affected simplificaions are precisely the kind of debilitatng factor that Nickels suggested as the vorm in the apple of '30s realism. □

INDIGENOUS MUSIC

NAT HENTOFF

There is no evidence that Duke Ellington ever suffered from composer's block. Baritone saxophonist Harry Carney, who used to drive Duke through the years of one-nighters, recalled Ellington jotting down musical ideas on scraps of paper from one end of the country to the other. And after a date, Billy Strayhorn would often get a call early in the morning from Duke wanting his reaction to a just-born theme. And at the end, in the hospital, Ellington was still writing scores.

Yet for all the wondrous works of his long career, there was one period—1940-42—that produced an explosion of remarkably diverse, brilliantly structured and often quite profound compositions. There are, of course, many substantial pieces in the Ellington canon outside those years, but his imagination was never as continually incandescent as then.

As part of its admirably researched and annotated jazz series, The Smithsonian Collection has issued most of the RCA Victor records he made in one of those years—*Duke Ellington 1940* ($9.99 plus $1.49 for postage and handling from Smithsonian Customer Service, P.O. Box 10230, Des Moines, Iowa 50336. The Stock No. is 2015).

It was during the early 1940s that Ellington also had the most vivid and resourceful orchestra of his career. The reed section included tenor saxophonist Ben Webster, passionately disciplined on ballads, and alto saxophonist Johnny Hodges, serene and sensuous on all manner of material. The brass soloists ranged from pungent, sardonic cornetist Rex Stewart and growling trumpeter Cootie Williams to trombonists Lawrence Brown, cool and silken, and "Tricky Sam" Nanton (who, with a rubber plunger, transformed his horn into an amiably mocking but somehow eerie "human" voice). Most notable in the rhythm section was Sonny Greer, a Christmas tree of percussion ornaments, and Jimmy Blanton, the first bassist to improvise as if that ungainly instrument were a horn.

While composing, Ellington kept each of his players very much in mind.

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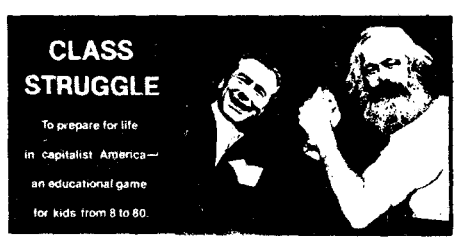

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This approach explains why an Ellington composition played by any other orchestra always sounded as if it had lost its soul. Duke's men were not playing it. In any case, with this 1940 assemblage of extraordinarily distinctive players, Ellington recorded in 1940 alone: "Jack the Bear," "Ko-Ko," "Conga Brava," "Concerto for Cootie (Do Nothing 'Til You Hear From Me)," "Cotton Tail," "Bojangles," "A Portrait of Bert Williams," "Blue Goose," "Harlem Airshaft," "All Too Soon," "Rumpus in Richmond," "Sepia Panorama," "In a Mellotone," "Warm Valley," "The Flaming Sword" and "Across the Track Blues." (That, by the way, is only a partial list.)

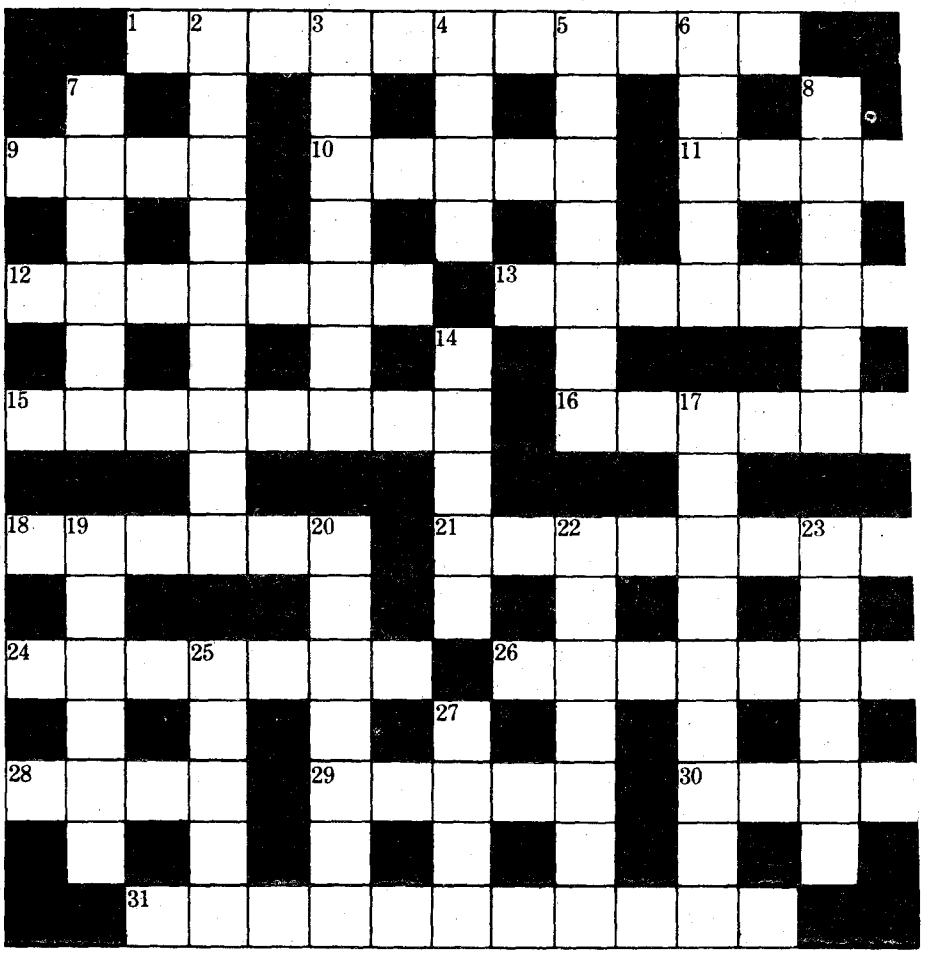
Melodically, the works are alternately bold, intimately lyrical, penetrating evocations of character (in the portraits), and sometimes mysterious in the moods they evoke. Harmonically, the colors keep forming in richly unexpected combinations and with a technique that no one else was ever able to duplicate or really understand. And rhythmically, Ellington was playing with time in much more daring, though subtle, ways than anyone else in jazz in 1940. (That's why Charlie Parker's later "revolutionary" sense of time didn't startle Ellington at all. It was different from Duke's but I expect he had imagined it along the way.)

In the two-volume Smithsonian set, there are lucid analyses of each performance by Larry Gushee, professor of music at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, and a selected bibliography. There has yet to be, by the way, a comprehensive biography of Ellington or a full-scale exploration of his music. To get an accurate sense, however, of the Ellington milieu, including the personalities of his sidemen (which he transmuted into the music), the best account so far is Stanley Dance's *The World of Duke Ellington* (Scribner's).

For the 1940 band at a dance—its optimum setting—do not miss *Duke Ellington at Fargo, 1940 Live* (Book-of-the-Month-Club Records. For information: B-O-M-C Records, Camp Hill, Pennsylvania 17012. You don't have to join the book club to buy this jubilant set). □

Crossword Puzzle No. 1769

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 12 across
9 If in 30, lawbreakers need not be behind them. (4)
10 Implies the possibility of strength. (5)
11 See 23 down
12, 29 and 1 Not really where the beach of the Walrus was located, despite the odd beginning. (3,4,2,3,8,3)
13 Possibly notices part of it. (7)
15 With clenched fists, let out on the side that's never right, but not necessarily wrong. (8)
16 What Nemo had allowed to be used by a second or third party. (6)
18 Paired up in this, and met trouble with it. (6)
21 See 3 down
24 One mocks Tom and Polly, for example. (7)
26 One can't conceive of a one-horned type, but that's a matter of argument. (7)
28 By the sound of it, why put it on the transport—it's occupied! (4)
29 See 12 across
30 Places people might sleep in opposite directions. (4)
31 He might keep company with others. (Same sort with the vehicle of 28 and 30.) (11)

DOWN

2 Possibly outraged about an article that's kept from getting too hot. (9)
3 and 21 across Implies people can't be 2 down. (2,3,2,2,6)
4 Old carriages musicians sometimes lik to work on. (4)
5 Those who might make fancy work out old rags? (7)
6 Not yet affected by the match—like a fly ing bird. (5)
7 What eventually might make liquor tha is acceptable while driving. (6)
8 Broken lesion underneath one's foot. (6
14 Does one have to try to make it? (5)
17 Possibly the entertainer ran, liable t make one. (9)
19 A counter in some foreign shop. (6)
20 A 1900 Nobel prizewinner found Antony on one. (7)
22 The quality of what some like to have pu in the drink? (7)
23 and 11 across Dangerous between opponents, it would be 3 and 21 in the extreme. (2,4,4)
25 To a degree, you might supply an outlet of sorts. (5)
27 Part of the nasty expression in one's eye? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1768

ACROSS: 1 and 5 Easy come, easy go; 10 Rests; 11 Third-rate; 12 Ermined; 13 Igniter; 14 Passer; 15 Steeped; 18 Hide-out; 21 On duty; 24 Cleaver; 26 Dauphin; 27 Underwear; 28 Lasso; 29 Tidied; 30 Instance. DOWN: 1 and 23 Earned income; 2 and 9 Sesame and Lilies; 3 Casings; 4 Matador; 6 Al dente; 7 Yeast; 8 Override; 16 Pitches in; 19 Obverse; 20 Turkey; 21 and 17 Order in the court; 22 Doublet; 25 Ended.

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This event is being held in conjunction with the Cooper Union Forum, which will present a salute to *The Nation* following the reception. The forum will be co-hosted by Hamilton Fish, publisher of *The Nation*, and Henry Alter, director of the Cooper Union Forum, and will include Victor Navasky, editor of *The Nation*, as well as distinguished contributors to the magazine.

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